Students' Ideas about Different Representations of the Past: South Korean Adolescents Interpret Historical Film

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I certify that the work contained in the thesis submitted by me for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is my original work, except where acknowledged references is made to other authors. It has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university.

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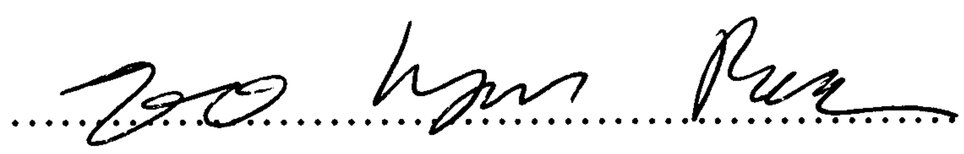
The data collected in this research are in Korean and the translation of the extracts used in the thesis is my work.



Abstract

This thesis explores the ways in which secondary school students interpret different representations of the past as portrayed in the film. It focuses on the question of how they set the film director's view within a sociocultural context, and how they conceptualise what constitutes acceptable historical knowledge. Ninety-six secondary school students in South Korea viewed two sets of historical films that vary in terms of authorship, period, and genre. The viewings were followed by semi-structured interviews, which aimed to investigate a range of students' approaches to different representations produced at a given place and time.

This thesis argues that acknowledging the structuring of historical knowledge as a part of cultural practice enabled students to make a shift in their picture of the past: from the idea of the past as being reproduced to that of the past as being organised and reconstructed. A range of ideas about historical knowledge, from a direct report of the event through an idiosyncratic interpretation of a literary past to systematic mediation of historical reality, was identified.

Through analysis of students' approaches to revision of the past, this thesis also discusses the relationship between ideas about the role of perspective in history and ideas about the reconfiguration of the past for the present. Students tended to assume that more committed perspectives were likely to subject historical representations to greater revision of history. Students' ideas about changing representations of the past reflected their presuppositions about change of viewpoints in historical enquiry, mainly either in an empirical or cultural sense rather than in a methodological sense.

Given students' tendency to conceive historical representations as being subject to perspective mainly fuelled by present interests, it is crucial to provide an opportunity for them to frame an historical account as an answer to a particular question, attributing a positive role to perspectival views of the past.

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Introduction

0.1. Aims of the research

This study sets out to explore the question of how and on which bases South Korean adolescents interpret different historical representations on film. In this study, 'historical representation' denotes both historical writing and other forms of engagement with the discourse of history. The term 'historical representation' was employed in an attempt to pose a quest for reconstruction of past reality as part of an exploration of an optimal understanding of the past, both in the study of history and of other areas of the creation of collective memory: in particular, amongst the various media for reconstructing the past, the focus of this study lies in filmic representation.

Recently, there has been a growing interest in the influence of film on present-day historical consciousness and understanding, often focusing on concern about the increasingly permeable boundary between 'historical realities' and the 'filmic past'. On the other hand, historical films[1] are considered as a useful medium to engage with the issue of the 'historicity'[2] of historical representations:

> […] their [films'] status as the products of particular groups of people in particular contexts – and the limitations of those products and contexts – may be more obvious to viewers. If that is the case, then films might offer a more approachable route to the study of historiography than other media. (Hughes-Warrington, 2007: 3-4)

In the field of historical film studies, an attempt to explore the possibility of using historical films to enable viewers to reflect the constructive nature of historical representations has been made. For example, comparing films with written history, Rosenstone (2006: 163) considers the film as 'a new form of historical thinking';

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[1] In this study, the usage of historical film is rather narrow in that it refers to those films that actively organise historical process as ways of understanding the past.

[2] The issue of 'historicity' presents both opportunities and challenges to filmic representations of the past. On the one hand, some historical films can lead the audience to draw attention to the temporality of the constitution of the past by making their 'dual temporality' visible – e.g. the visualised past (how it *appears* as past in the film) and the context of representation. On the other hand, most mainstream historical films do not provide explicit indications of temporal setting, thus giving rise to a 'static' view of the past.

> Vision, metaphor, overall argument or moral is precisely the point at which film and written history come the closest to each other. The details of the past are necessary, interesting, even fascinating but what we really want to know is how to think about them, what they mean.

Historical film studies have drawn attention to the historiographical potential[3] for films in that some 'innovative' or 'oppositional' historical films can be seen as a 'new' mode of historical representations. To be more specific, what Rosenstone (1996) defined as 'new' visual histories reflect 'a move away from the presentation of history as a polished and complete story and towards its being a representation that can and ought to be questioned' (Hughes-Warrington, 2007: 5). Highlighting the 'visible' marker of various temporal relations and shifting perspectives in the filmic past, Hughes-Warrington (2007: 116-117) goes on to argue that historical films can foster 'a view of historical reality as relational and as subject to change.'

If historical films present an opportunity for viewers to engage with the discourse of history, is there any potential for historical films to enable students to think more historically? Before touching upon this issue, it is crucial to map out students' ideas about the relationship between the past realities (the represented) and the filmic past (historical representations). Initially, this study set out to pursue the two questions:

- To what extent can we consider students' understanding of filmic representation of the past to be a way of making sense of historical representations?
- How do students perceive differences (or similarities) between historical films and written history?

The two questions above gave rise to the final version of the research questions of the thesis as delineated on pp.15-16.

It has been noted that viewers tend to take an ambivalent stance towards historical films. For

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[3] Some 'innovative' historical films may be 'historiographical' in that they present the past as 'contested' knowledge rather than as archival reconstruction of the past. In this sense, this kind of film can provide an elaboration of forms of historical writing in a methodological sense.

instance, while considering historical films as the most powerful medium for 'being connected' with the past, the respondents in Rosenzweig and Thelen's (1998) survey gave less credit to historical films and television programmes than to written history in terms of trustworthiness. This kind of mistrust of historical films can be attributed to the more visible signs of 'constructedness' of the medium: 'viewers have more sense of historical films as representations than other history media such as museums or books' (Hughes-Warrington, 2007: 3). If this is the case with adult viewers, how do adolescents come to terms with the issue of credibility or reality of historical representations on film? In the face of different filmic representations about a particular event in the past, what criteria do students use to decide which historical representation is 'better'?

In the field of history education, Seixas' (1994) research opened up the possibility of using film as a medium to track the conceptual framework that underlies students' approaches to competing historical representations. Central to his research was to identify Canadian adolescents' cultural frameworks for interpreting the past, or more specifically, their understanding of contesting moral frames of popular film produced in different sociocultural milieu: *The Searchers* (1956) and *Dances with Wolves* (1990). As is the case with Seixas' study, this thesis seeks to make sense of adolescents' tacit understanding, which comes into play as an interpretive framework for a given account. Building on Seixas' work, this thesis investigates the ways in which South Korean adolescents conceive historical representations through using two contrasting sets of films in terms of period (in the case of the Russian Revolution task: *October* versus *Reds*) and genre (in the case of the Holocaust task: *Shoah* versus *Schindler's List*).

The films used in this study can be seen as 'historical films' in a sense that the focus of each film lies in a reconstruction of the past event, though with different purposes and filmic techniques. The pair of films in each task consists of sets of signs that might bring viewers into various modes of spectatorship. In particular, the films selected in this study do not neatly fit into existing categories of filmic genre. For instance, in the case of the Russian Revolution set, neither of the films is documentary. However, while *October* forges a 'having-been-there' impact, *Reds* creates a 'being-there' effect. In the case of the Holocaust set, while the documentary *Shoah* presents no archive footage, the fiction film *Schindler's*

List offers news-reel like qualities through appropriating recycled images of the Holocaust.

The four films used in this study were primarily selected for the purpose of a comparison task that involves interpreting differences in historical representations about the same event, with the aim of exploring a range of aspects of forms of representation taken into account by students in making sense of visual sources. The research did not intend to elicit the ways in which the characteristics of the event in question or students' substantive knowledge about it have an impact on their readings of the visual text. Rather, it set out to explore students' underlying assumptions about the relationship between past realities and their filmic representations, leaving room for students to discuss the issue without exclusively relying on their substantive knowledge about the topic. These substantive topics in world history which are briefly covered in history classrooms in South Korea were preferred to 'national' topics that are commonly known to students. Emotionally charged topics in Korean modern history such as Japanese colonial rule and the division of the country that are too close to students were not chosen, as the aim of research does not lie in exploring what pre-knowledge and emotions students would bring to the task. The 'world history' topics were chosen in an attempt at allowing students to engage with as well as to distance themselves from the topic, thus bringing forth the ways in which they set the films in question in a wider sense of historiography, that is, in terms of the context of world-wide issue and of its relation to domestic issue.

Although this study focuses on visual sources, the thesis identifies understanding of students' tacit knowledge of competing historical accounts either in the domain of history as a discipline or in the realm of representation of history in general. The growing body of research on adolescents' prior concepts about history reflects concerns with what involves studying the past. As VanSledright and Limon (2006: 551) put it, 'research about them [second-order concepts] and their close relation to reasoning and cognition in history on the one hand, and to epistemological beliefs and ideas on the other, have become important issues in history education.' The concern with conceptual tools that shape or constrain adolescents' historical understanding has given rise to a range of research studies across different contexts, that is, in other cultures as well as in the West (for a detailed discussion of the 'local' context of this study, see Chapter 3). It is worth noting that there has been a

shift of emphasis in the field of history education in South Korea. The existing body of research in the study of history education has been subject to scrutiny partly because it has an exclusive focus on the selection of the content of school history without a discussion of students' picture of history as a discipline. It is within this context that this study set out to explore South Korean adolescents' historical understanding, asking the question, 'How do they make sense of competing historical representations?'

In particular, given the increasing emphasis on 'multiple' or 'shifting' reading(s) of history in the age of relativism, explicating the way in which students orientate themselves in the face of competing ways of conceptualising the past has come to the fore: How do students approach the relationship between perspective and historical knowledge?; Is there any guiding assumption about how and why histories are made? As Lee and Howson (forthcoming) point out, students' key ideas about history as a disciplinary practice play an important role in shaping their historical orientation:

> [...] disciplinary understanding can on the one hand set severe limits on students' ability (and indeed inclination) to grasp history, but on the other hand it can provide students with powerful ideas that open up new possibilities in their dealing with the substantive content of their school history courses and their ability to cope with competing stories they encounter in the wider world.

This study aims to identify students' concepts of the role of perspective and of the revision of history through employing two sets of films whose interpretive frameworks reflect the film director's choice and the context of reconstruction of the event. In an attempt to pursue this line of enquiry, research questions are delineated as follows. The principal foci under investigation are set out below each question.

1. What strategies do students employ in approaching the filmic past?
   1.1. Students' approaches to forms of representation: students' ideas about reality and credibility and their interpretations of the truth status of films.
   1.2. The characteristics of students' assumptions about the limits of interpretation of the past event.
2. In what ways do students conceive authorial subjectivity in reconstructing the past?
   2.1. Students' ideas about the status and role of perspective in historical accounts.

2.2. In what ways are students' ideas about perspective in historical study linked to their views on the modification of historical representations?

This study was conducted in ten middle schools (12-14 year-olds) and thirteen high schools (15-17 year-olds) in South Korea, using semi-structured interviews with thirty-three middle school students and sixty-three high school students. In the following section, the structure of the thesis is outlined.

0.2. An outline of the thesis

Chapter 1 addresses the theoretical frameworks of this study by considering issues centred on the status and role of perspective in historical accounts. In particular, attention will be paid to the question of 'present-centredness' discussed in the field of the philosophy of history, drawing on Dray's ideas on point of view in historical enquiry. This is followed by a discussion of the question of historicity of historical representations and its challenge to the teaching and learning of history.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of research on adolescents' understandings of historical representations, with particular reference to recent studies on students' analysis of competing frameworks of historical representations both in written history and in visual history. In addition, in an attempt to formulate the research questions of this thesis, the major findings of previous research on students' interpretation of cinematic rewritings of history are outlined.

Chapter 3 provides the 'local' context of this study, via a brief discussion of the characteristics of history education in South Korea and its changing phases. This chapter gives an overview of the changes and continuities in the history curriculum and its relation to the research setting. The overview is followed by a review of a range of criticisms on the state of history education in South Korea, with a focus on a recent attempt to re-conceptualise nationalism in school history and a renewal of interest in world history. Chapter 3 concludes with a discussion of some implications of the paradigm shift from a didactic to a learner-centred approach in the field of history education in South Korea.

Chapter 4 presents the research methods and findings of the pilot study, with the aim of showing how the study was conducted. This chapter begins with describing instruments and procedures, with an emphasis on the link between research questions and the film clips (*October* and *Reds*) selected for the pilot study. There follows a preliminary analysis of data collected during the piloting phase, describing the categorisation of students' interpretations of a pair of films about the Russian Revolution. The final part of this chapter considers some limitations of the pilot study in terms of its selection of the film segments and framing of interview questions that shaped the final decision about methods of the main study.

Chapter 5 provides the methodological framework for this study that informs analytic procedures, clarifying the relationship between the explanatory purpose of this study and the qualitative research paradigm. Then, the employment of research methods such as semi-structured interviews and coding processes based on 'grounded theory' comes under scrutiny, followed by a description of the film clips (*Shoah* and *Schindler's List*) added to the main study. The characteristics of participants and the institutional setting are outlined, with close attention paid to students' perceptions of the researcher (or the task) and some ethical considerations involved in the data collection. This chapter is brought to a close with a discussion of analytic procedures of data interpretation, using examples to illustrate the categories that were generated by the students' responses.

Chapter 6 charts the way students interpreted different filmic representations. Based on students' criteria for comparison of a pair of films in each task, categories of the factors that determined better representations of the past are described. An overall picture of students' choice of what they considered as a better filmic past and its grounds is outlined: elements of documentary (direct report of the event) and explanatory power (structural explanation) for *October* and *Shoah*; strength of fictional reconstruction of the event (narrative power and empathetic understanding) for *Reds* and *Schindler's List*; neutrality and first-hand accounts for *Reds* and *Shoah* respectively. This analysis develops an overall picture of students' notions of 'ideal' historical representations: 'a reproduction of the past' versus 'a reorganisation of the past'.

Chapter 7 explores students' assumptions about the production of historical accounts. The first half of this chapter explores their recounting of factors as determinants of differences in the account. The analysis of students' views on the structuring of historical knowledge gives rise to a preliminary model of progression: from a direct report of the event through an idiosyncratic interpretation of a literary past to systematic mediation of historical reality. The second half of this chapter focuses on examining the ways in which students weigh up competing accounts in order to pursue the question of criteria of admissibility of historical accounts. Again, a preliminary model of progression is devised on the basis of students' solutions on how to decide which historical account is 'better'. This analysis demonstrates that students' grounds for [non]decision are connected with their acknowledgement (or disapproval) of the idea of objectivity in historical knowledge and the formative role of subjectivity in historical interpretation.

Chapter 8 discusses students' ideas on revision in historical representations on the basis of their responses to the question as to whether and how the cinematic past can be modified. A range of students' approaches to interpretive difference across time (in the case of the Russian Revolution task) and their ideas about the relativisation of history (in the case of the Holocaust task) are identified. This chapter suggests that students' decisions about the alteration or non-alteration of filmic representations are closely linked to their perceptions of the role of perspective in historical enquiry, aligning along three axes: 1) 'only one past' – no alteration or better documented past; 2) 'inherited' perspective – dogmatic revision of history; 3) perspective as cognitive tool – legitimate revision of history.

Chapter 9 examines students' stance towards an instrumental approach to history via an analysis of their interpretation of the written sources used in this study. The discussion focuses on the issues of retrospective judgement of significance (in the case of the Russian Revolution task) and political or judicial use of history (in the case of the Holocaust task). Students' judgement of each source is reviewed in the light of their ideas about the role of retrospective interpretation in historical accounts (in the case of the Russian Revolution task) and their perceptions of justification of revisionism (in the case of the Holocaust task). This chapter offers evidence that students' ideas about legitimate or illegitimate use of the past hinged upon a range of ideas, from a simple abuse of history for present interests to

epistemological/ontological relativism.

Chapter 10 focuses on cross-task analysis, exploring links between students' concepts of the role of perspective in historical study and revision of historical representations. In particular, relationships between students' responses to the question of factors leading to different historical accounts (Chapter 7) and their stance towards modification of the filmic past (Chapter 8) are explored. The aim of the categorisation is to map out sets of ideas as conceptual frameworks of students' historical orientations, such as their beliefs about relativity of historical knowledge and their understanding of the relationship between objectivity and historicity. In addition, students' criteria for 'better' filmic representation of the past are scrutinised, questioning to what extent their approaches to visual representations of the past are intertwined with their standard of acceptable historical knowledge.

Chapter 11 summarises the findings of this study, with a focus on identifying the emerging pattern of students' pictures of the past: objectivist versus constructivist stances towards the question of 'how historical representation works'. The second section outlines some possible reservations regarding the main findings; here, suggestions are made about the possibility of the film clips (and their interaction with the context of history education in South Korea) impacting on students' approaches to the two tasks. The final section of this chapter considers the potential of historical films for history education on the basis of students' views on historical representations, seen as ranging from naïve realist through postmodern relativist to contextualist positions. The chapter concludes by considering remaining questions for further research in the field of history education.

Chapter 1. Approaches to perspective in historical representations

This chapter addresses the theoretical framework within which this study is set. It addresses issues of historical representation in the study of history. In particular, it considers approaches to the role of point of view in historical accounts, especially as this relates to present-centredness in historical enquiry. The purpose of this chapter is not to present an exhaustive overview of epistemological and methodological problems discussed in the field of the philosophy of history, but rather to set out a range of approaches to viewpoints in history against the background of recent developments in historiographical discourse, bearing in mind their implications for the teaching of history. In the first two sections, a range of perspectives on the relationship between value-judgements and presentism will be discussed, with particular reference to Dray's ideas on points of view in history. Then, in an attempt to throw light upon the teaching of history, the last two sections will pursue this question by reviewing some illustrations related to the issue of changing the past.

1.1. Background

To use Chartier's phrase, there seems to be a growing interest in 'the relationship between the representations that we can manipulate today and the past practice that they designate' (1993: 65). For instance, noting the anachronistic viewpoints deeply embedded in popular historical conceptions, Lowenthal (1989: 1263-4) has drawn a parallel between history and memory:

> The public at large [...] tend to view history through the same distorting lenses that filter their own memories. The collective past is apprehended as a personal and deeply felt extension of the present, and the events and viewpoints of bygone times are seen and judged in today's perspectives.

Arguably, increased attention to appropriating the past for present needs has been linked to the recent cultural milieu, including a diversifying market for memory, the growth of the heritage industry, the proliferation of technologies of time-shifting and digital reproduction, and a representational economy of recycling and pastiche. In fact, as the

past has become increasingly subject to cultural mediation, textual reconfiguration, and ideological contestation in the present, the question of changing the past has developed a new discursive significance.

In addition to these various factors, the influence of literary theory has brought the ideas of commodification and aestheticization of the past into light, encouraging historians to be more interested in what was represented as happening than in what happened (a dichotomy which is itself seen as problematic). As a result, the articulation, negotiation and transformation of the categories through which reality was and is reconstructed have come to the fore. As Tosh (2000: 183) recognises, 'From this perspective [discourse theory] primary sources are essentially *cultural-evidence*-of rhetorical strategies, codes of representation, social metaphors and so on.' Then, what is problematic, as Wilson and Ashplant (1988:11) rightly put it, is 'whether the framework he/she [a historian] is using is appropriate to the past he/she is studying.'

In particular, the way the term 'historical representation' is currently used tends to situate historical writing as a kind of aesthetic representation: 'the relevant secret of historical writing can only be discerned if we see the historical text as a representation of the past in much the same way that the work of art is representation of what it depicts […]' (Ankersmit, 2001: 80). Drawing on the so-called 'substitute theory' of representation, Ankersmit (2001: 45) goes on to argue that 'how we decide to conceptualise reality on the level of representation (of reality) determines what we will find on the level of the represented (i.e. on that of reality itself).' This tends to lead us to attribute the issue of 'indeterminacy' of historical interpretation to the 'aesthetic' aspect of historical representations; that is, is point of view in historical study at work in the sense that the artist's perspective comprises the artwork; is it possible to discern a 'better' representation of the past in a warranted way?

The focus of this study lies in filmic representation. The employment of the term 'historical representation' is intended to recognise that it poses a quest for reconstruction of past reality as part of an exploration of an optimal understanding of the past both in the study of history and in other areas in which 'collective memory' is created. This is

especially evident among media reconstructions of the past. In the following, the first two sections seek to conceptualise the issue of point of view in historical study, while the last two sections consider its dynamics and implications for history education.

1.2. Point of view and presentism in history

1.2.1. Point of view and 'warranted' historical enquiry

In this section, the question of how historians' values are involved in reconstructing the past will be discussed. In doing this, an attempt to reconsider Dray's idea of point of view in the study of history will be made, in the context of a range of critiques on the relationship between value and objectivity in history.

Most of all, Dray's approach to the problem of value in history can be summarised as follows. The notion that 'history is, in some essential way, a perspectival sort of enquiry' (Dray, 1989: 54) has not troubled him, since, as Pompa (1991: 112) notes, '[for Dray], there is nothing about [history's] incorporation of humanistic perspectives which weakens its claim to reconstruct the truth about the past.' In fact, Dray regards historians' value-judgements as the nature of the discipline itself:

> Historical accounts are necessarily value-laden. For the events and personalisation of history in their very nature involve ethical and aesthetic considerations. [...] [In addition to this], he [the historian] remains always a creature of time, place, circumstances, interests, predilections, culture.
>
> (Dray 1980: 28)

Before proceeding further, it is worth sketching out the primary reasons that have been suggested to explain why historians disagree with each other about the same event. As illustrated in Walsh's identification of four factors (Dray, 1989: 55-6), the reasons include personal likes and dislikes, group prejudice, conflicting theories of historical interpretation, and finally underlying philosophical commitments. Obviously, what is problematic for the study of history is the latter two factors, competing theories and

philosophical commitments, as these two are more implicit. In contrast, the former two – personal dispositions and group prejudice, often called bias – can be easily detected

> Terms like "bias" and "prejudice" surely connote views improperly held: attitudes and convictions which are impervious to discussion and criticism perhaps, or which lead those who hold them to ignore what is relevant, or to distort. They are a way of holding beliefs, not belief of a certain kind
>
> (Dray, 1989: 58)

Furthermore, what complicates matters further, is the extent to which the four factors can or should, if possible, be eliminated from historical enquiry. Rubinoff (1991: 135) summarises Dray's concerns:

> [for Dray] the question is not simply whether in history, [...] the historian's point of view is in fact value-laden, but whether it is so in concept or 'idea'. [...] [A]re the historian's values merely *causally* influential upon historical enquiry, or are they also *logically* involved in determining his standards? (Rubinoff's italics)

As previously discussed, for Dray, point of view belongs to the idea of history itself, which makes the discipline distinct from natural science. Furthermore, in Dray's view, Walsh's four factors, which may lead historians to offer different historical explanations, can be dissolved into 'differences in value judgement: differences about what really matters in human life, or in some portion or aspect of it: differences which are ultimately moral ones' (Dray 1989: 61).

Arguably, Dray's discussion of the value-laden nature of historical accounts leads to the question of 'how we can establish that values enter them in a warrantable way' (Pompa, 1991: 123). In the extreme case of perspectivism, anybody can claim to tell the truth about the past: in Walsh's words (1968: 109), 'to each the past is revealed according to his point of view.' In this regard, it is misleading to say that there is a resemblance between the perspectivist and Dray. On the contrary, criticising relativist views of historical knowledge, Dray (1989: 65) stresses the danger of drawing analogies between a 'sense perception and artistic representation' with historical enquiry by arguing:

> What is more likely to be relativized is not truth itself, but the historian's claim to know it – this being done by interpreting every historical judgement as subject to the qualification "from the so-and-so point of view" [...] On this version of the perspectivist theory, at least, historians would have to give up all claim to tell us how the past really was.

How, then, can we move from simple tolerance, or rather the relativising of the historian's judgement to the identification of a more grounded representation of the past? Prior to considering the objectivity question, attention needs to be paid to historians' evaluative categorisation, through which construction of the past comes into being. According to Pompa (1991: 119), Dray's idea of 'evaluative conception' employed by historians can be summarised as follows:

> [...] prior to the application of evaluative categories, there is nothing for these categorisations to apply to – nothing historical has yet been constructed – while, after their application, in the absence of any historical evidence to support this particular categorisation, we are left with no reason why we should accept the account of the past as thus constructed as being anything more than an historical fiction.

As noted above, an endless interplay between historians' presuppositions and characterisations of past actions can lead us into scepticism about the possibility of fair representation of the past. As a result of this, the plea for a more grounded study of history evokes the question of 'how the historian's value judgements and his assessment of the evidence could be kept in a relationship which would be relevant to a historically defensible characterisation of past actions' (Pompa 1991: 121). To put it bluntly, the problem is about how appropriate contextualisation can be established, in relation to an objective standard. Pompa (1991: 128), for example, considers Dray's claim that 'the correctness of the contextualisation be decided by the truth of a value judgement made by the historian himself.' It follows from this that, if the relevance of contextualisation depends on the truth of the historian's value judgement, the question of whose contextualisation can be legitimatised still remains unexplored. Acknowledging what is missing in Dray's claim, Pompa (1991: 130-131) attempts to establish the grounds of the contextualisation:

> [...] the only solution would seem to be to accept, as initial hypotheses, the different competing contextualisations and evaluate the historical accounts which result from them in terms of their general internal coherence, their relative simplicity, the relative conclusiveness of the evidence upon which each depends and so on.

It is evident from this consideration of Dray's approach to viewpoints in history that different contextualisations bring the past into the present in various ways. This raises an important issue concerned with an asymmetry between the past and the present. What is at stake here is to what extent the 'historicity' of historical accounts can be explained as enabling any claim to knowledge of past events, and how we can make better sense of competing contextualisations. In the following section, attention will be drawn to presentism, focusing on the extent to which historicity and objectivity are compatible.

1.2.2. Present-centredness in the study of history

If a historian's values are constitutive of historical accounts, it is very important to consider the matter of the historian's positioning as a creature of his age:

> [...] written history is contemporary or present orientated to the extent that we historians not only occupy a platform in the here and now, but also hold positions on how we see the relationship between the past and its traces, and the manner in which we extract meaning from them
>
> (Munslow 1997: 1)

It has been accepted that historical work is inextricably interwoven with the understanding and the interest of the historian's age. It might also be useful to turn to comment on so-called 'presentism', by sampling some of the implications of what has been said for 'present-centredness' in historical enquiry.

To begin with, as Dray (1989: 165) demonstrates, Dewey has been notable for the stress which has been laid upon a presentist view of historical knowledge and enquiry. Not surprisingly, Dray (1989: 167) does not oppose Dewey's claim that 'historical inference requires interpretive concepts as well as data.' What troubled Dray was Dewey's argument that 'historical enquiry must be controlled by the dominant problems and

conceptions of the culture of the period in which it is written' (Dewey 1959: 169, quoted in Dray 1989: 169). What follows from this concern is Dray's scepticism about Dewey's outcome-oriented view of presentism: 'For Dewey, it is apparently in the very nature of historical investigation always to look back on earlier events from the standpoint of some later one taken as a point of reference or touchstone of significance' (Dray 1989: 170).

In the rest of his works, there is a sign that Dewey valued historical knowledge in terms of its usefulness for present day concerns. Accordingly, in defining Dewey's approach to historical enquiry as a 'usable past', Dray (1989: 173) goes on to categorize various forms of presentism as follows:

> By a projective presentism I mean one which envisages the interpretation of the past being carried through straightforwardly in terms of ideas, problems and values derived from the way we understand the present [...] By a pragmatic presentism I mean one which is present-oriented rather in the sense of seeking, wherever possible, to reconstruct the past in ways which will be useful in dealing with present concerns.

In Dray's (1989: 175) view, both forms of presentism do not necessarily end up with anachronism: '[in the case of projective presentism] there is some scope for the claim that this is an appropriate way to do history.' To say the least, the perceptual and conceptual apparatus derived from the present provide the reason why an historian chooses to construct a problem in a certain way. More specifically, it is via the historian's presuppositions and categories that relative importance is attached to a past event. This raises the question of how we can incorporate interpretive concepts into our understanding of past practice. In retrospect, there seems to be no surprise that the presentist view of history has been equated with anachronistic error. For instance, Butterfield was consistent in accusing presentism of being the source of distortion of the past:

> It is part and parcel of the whig interpretation of history that it studies the past with *reference to the present* [...] Through this system of immediate *reference to the present* day historical personages can easily and irresistibly be classed into the men who furthered progress and the men who try to hinder it [...] The whig historian stands on the summit of the twentieth century and organises his

> scheme of history *from the point of view of his own day* (Wilson and Ashplant's italics).
>
> (Butterfield, 1931: 11-13, quoted in Wilson and Ashplant 1988: 10)

Butterfield's charge against whig history can be summarised in two kinds of formulations, 'the principle of direct reference to the present' and 'the point of view of the present' (Wilson and Ashplant 1988: 10-11). Labelling these principles as 'present-centredness', Wilson and Ashplant (1988: 11) draw attention to the way in which the position taken by an observer functions:

> [...] what any would-be-knower construes is a function of the would-be-knower's construing 'position' [...] what is wrong with whig history concerns not merely values or moral judgments but also *the substantive accuracy of the story* (Wilson and Ashplant's italics).

Regarding whig interpretation as 'the specific fusion of present-centred categories with present-favouring values', Ashplant and Wilson (1988: 261) maintain that anachronistic errors in historiography reside in 'the substantive categories of the historian rather than the values which he/she deploys.' To be specific, in Ashplant and Wilson's (1988: 269) view, what 'present-centredness' exemplifies is twofold: 'first, the probable disjunction between the category-systems of the past and the present, and second, the inevitable discrepancy between the historian's use for any given relic and the use or uses which that relic originally sustained.' It goes without saying that these gaps have been tackled by historians, through using source criticism as a key to methodology in historical enquiry. For Ashplant and Wilson (1988: 270), it is investigation of the relevant source-generating process that enables historians to come to terms with their own present-centredness: '[...] the historian turns from asking what a given source 'means' to asking what it meant; [...] the historian ceases to assume what activities generated a given relic, and begins to ask what those activities actually were.'

Furthermore, if a historian engages with the process, the historian's questions toward the past practice which they are seeking to interpret can be more grounded:

> [...] when one really does investigate the source-generating process, one returns to the substantive questions with which one began. And it turns out, too, that the range of what can be inferred from the source is not narrowed, but enlarged.
> (Ashplant and Wilson 1988: 270)

However, as Ashplant and Wilson (1988: 273-274) admit, since historians' choices to approach the past practice still derive from their evaluative conceptions in the present, the relationship between present-centredness and questions of historical relativism remains unresolved. Simply put, in deciding both which aspects of the past to investigate and which questions are worth asking, the historian's own assumptions and interest in the present come into play.

Let us bring this section of the discussion to a close by considering the question of 'whether the relativity or historicity of historical knowledge can be reconciled with its claim to objectivity' (Rubinoff, 1991: 139). For the purpose of this discussion, Rubinoff (1991: 141) refers to Collingwood's notion of 'absolute presupposition':

> [...] the constellations of absolute presuppositions, and hence point of view, stand in a logical relationship to one another which takes the form of a question and answer complex. Presuppositions give rise to questions which in turn beget answers, and in due course the attempt to make sense of the answers or to translate them into practice leads to the proposing of new questions as a result of which there sometimes occurs a shift at the level of presuppositions.

Manifestly, it is the historicity of the question-answer set as to the characterisation of past practice, which moves historiography forward, enriching the scope and intelligibility of historical interpretation. Illustrating Collingwood's treatment of the theories of the State, Rubinoff (1991: 143-144) emphasises that a historian's questions are closely linked to 'the actual experience of his contemporaries':

> The question, 'What is the ideal nature of the State?' is therefore a series of questions which have arisen within a continuing historical experience in which mankind attempts to realise its ideals in practice. And since the development of this experience is dialectical, the history of theories of the State is – to repeat – the history not of different answers to the same question but the history of a problem which was more or less constantly changing whose solution was changing with it The question is therefore not a separate question asked at a separate time, which philosophers continue to ask throughout history [...]

Viewed from this perspective it should be easier to understand in what sense the various political philosophers throughout history can be regarded as having reconstructed in their thought a phenomenon whose objective existence is not simply the synthesis or system of their respective points of view but the unity of political experience itself in so far as that experience is both the product and the presupposition of their reflective activities.

This section has provided a broad outline of discussion centred on the role of point of view in the study of history. The picture that seems to be emerging from the literature reviewed above is that some evaluation of the present plays an important role in making sense of the past, raising a new question based upon standpoints adopted at any given time. It is this historicity of historical interpretation that makes historical knowledge move forward. Taking this into consideration, it is possible to evaluate to what extent historical accounts 'contextualised' by a narrative at a given time can make sense of the past's historicity on the basis of their explanatory power. In the following section, the issue of changing the past will be discussed in the light of its implication for teaching and learning history.

1.3. Timeless past, communal past

1.3.1. Continuity/discontinuity with the past

In the previous section, the ways present points of view shape past practice have been described on the basis of the concepts and methods employed in a professional study of history. The fact is that, as Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998: 5) point out, the main characteristics of popular historical consciousness, which make sense of the past, have yet remained uncharted. Let us consider some factors that may alter a received past. Discussing popular historical conceptions, Lowenthal (1985: 19) states that 'national and communal efforts to recall and refashion a praiseworthy if not a glorious past struck me as similar to the needs of individuals to construct a viable and believable life history.' Although he also emphasises that a professional study of history can be differentiated from that of memory in terms of its openness to public scrutiny, in his view, both history and recollection share a significant feature: that is, 'they are alike distorted by selective perception, intervening circumstances, and hindsight' (Lowenthal 1985: 22).

There has been a commonly held assumption that popular historical conceptions tend to be easily manipulated by mediations of the past such as films and television programmes. However, people's awareness of the influence of the media on their idea of the past cannot be underestimated. For instance, Rosenzweig and Thelen's (1998: 12) research on popular historical consciousness in the U.S. reveals that many respondents 'fear being manipulated by people who distort the past to meet their own needs – whether commercial greed, political ambition, or cultural prejudice.' According to Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998: 90), the most difficult problem the respondents faced was to deal with sources that had come into existence to advance their creator's agendas: 'they tend to worry as much about how and why a source was mediating between them and a moment in the past as about whether the account was accurate.' Taken together, a kind of sensitivity to the mediation between the past and present seems to be working here, leading them 'to assess patterns of mediation between what they wanted to know about the past and why they wanted to know about it in the present' (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998: 90).

It is often claimed that historical consciousness brings the past into the present, shaping a prospect to the future. Differentiating memory and historical consciousness, Rüsen (1998: 6) holds that through its criteria of sense and significance of temporal change, historical consciousness plays an important role in bridging gaps between the past, the present and the future. Clearly, a key to an elaboration of memory formed by historical consciousness lies in 'narrative competence'. As Rüsen (1998:7) argues, the term 'narrative' (within its specific reference to history) points to 'the essential competence of conceptualizing the temporal change of the human world into a pattern of sense and significance which can serve as a cultural means of orientating human life in the current temporal change.' Similarly, Cronon (1992: 1374-5) highlights the difference between a chronicle and a narrative:

> [...] a good story makes us care about its subject in a way that a chronicle does not [...] When a narrator honestly makes an audience care about what happens in a story, the story expresses the ties between past and present in a way that lends deeper meaning to both [...] historical storytelling helps keep us morally

> engaged with the world by showing us how to care about it and its origins in ways we had not done before.

For Cronon (1992: 1374), different narratives about the same event can be regarded as a sequence of competing stories, intending to help their audience to encounter the world and its meaning in a fresh light.

In all the arguments stated above, a basic point emerges; that is, how the present culture 'structures' historical knowledge: to use Rüsen's phrase, 'how history and historical consciousness interact with the culture of which they are a part' (Jöng, 1997: 273). The indispensable cultural functions of history exist in a kind of interaction between, to use Rüsen's terms (quoted in Jöng, 1997: 284), 'remembering (Vergangenheitsdeutung), orientation in the present (Gagenwartsverständnis), and the perspectives on the future (Zukunftperspektive).' This point is inextricably related to a kind of self-positioning within the dynamics of cultural life at a particular time and place. The problem is that, as Rüsen (1998: 10-11) points out, the indispensable cultural function of history has rarely been recognised by young students:

> [...] the historical consciousness of young people lacks a good deal of historization concerning basic principles of temporal change and human world orientation [...] only a minority has realized that these forces [the moving forces of change] themselves change, they can lose their force in the human mind and become replaced by others.

Investigating the relationship between interpretation of the past and perception of the present, Borries (1994: 340) also finds that students employ the present value system to come to terms with the past, showing low levels of empathy. As Borries (1994: 340) remarks, 'Past constraints on action, if deviating from present-day concepts, are hardly ever reconstructed historically. Moral judgements rooted in the present are substituted for historical analysis.'

Acknowledging the difficulty of reconciling familiarity with and distance from the past, Cercadillo (2000: 257) emphasises the importance of teaching the relationship between

the past, the present and the future. She goes on to suggest some directions for teaching practice in history classrooms:

> to encourage students to reflect about how this relationship is worked out in historical accounts; how historians' views of the significance of events and processes are shaped by the preconceptions of the present as well as by their knowledge of the past.

In a similar vein, highlighting Mink's (1987: 103) insight into the tension between continuity and discontinuity from the past, Wineburg (1999: 493) suggests the way the past should be encountered:

> The more we know about the past, claimed the philosopher of history Louis Mink, the more cautious we should be drawing analogies to it. In Mink's view, historical knowledge can sometimes sever our connection to the past, making us see ourselves as discontinuous with the people we study.

1.3.2. Positive values of historians' subjectivity: the cultural function of history

It follows from what has been said above that it may be difficult for young students to deal with the question of continuity/discontinuity with the past. Of course, it is not a simple matter for young students to step back from their familiar world and make sense of the remote past. Even if they go beyond present centredness, the question of validating historical accounts seems to remain unsolved.

In particular, if the problematic relationship between the past and the present hinges on the positionality of historians, it is difficult to state which stories about the past are valid. As an attempt to map the way history teachers deal with conflicting interpretations of the past, Seixas (2000: 20) suggests three different approaches toward history in schools: enhancing collective memory, historical disciplines' modes of enquiry, and the postmodern challenge. Needless to say, these three approaches are based on different orientations toward historical epistemology and pedagogy; that is, 'teaching the best story as the way it happened', 'learning disciplinary criteria for deciding what makes good history', and 'understand[ing] how different groups organise the past into histories'.

Seixas goes on to discuss the problematic aspects of each approach. In the case of the first approach, 'historical knowledge appears as something fixed by authority rather than subject to investigation, debate, and its own system of warrants' (Seixas, 2000: 23). Though Seixas does not disregard the logic of teaching the best possible interpretation of the past (e.g. 'the idea of social change makes no sense without a historical orientation'), for him, there is a pitfall in turning history into dogma. Unlike the first orientation, the second one provides students with an active exercise in disciplined knowledge; according to Seixas (2000: 25), it can help students to develop the ability and the disposition to arrive independently at reasonable, informed opinions. However, Seixas (2000: 25-26) also considers criticism leveled at this approach: the danger of being lost in relativism; excising identity issues from the study of history.

Finally, considering the positive contributions and potential drawbacks of the third approach, Seixas focuses on the postmodernists' challenge to the division between the discipline of history and collective memory. In other words, while the postmodernist sensibility can lead us to pay attention to the limitation of each framework within which we investigate the past, there is a possibility of turning all history into collective memory, seeing all accounts of the past as being epistemologically equivalent (Seixas 2000: 30-31). What is at issue here is whether or not the students' awareness of the position of the historian can guarantee their ability to deal with contradictory stories of the past; more precisely, as Seixas (2000: 32) puts it, faced with two conflicting accounts of the same events, 'what kind of explanatory means do they [students] need in order to deal with their differences?'

In particular, facing rival accounts, as Cercadillo (2000: 180) notes, students 'tend to disregard intermediate positions and are inclined to reduce validity to the absolute problem of "truth".' In Cercadillo's (2000: 252) view, this tendency can be partly attributed to 'teaching approaches which emphasise the importance of "looking at the two sides of any story", and from some trends in historiography that are inclined to bipolarity in historical interpretations.' This brings us to a distinguishing feature of students' ideas about different historical accounts. Analysing students' ideas about the notion of point of view, Cercadillo (2000: 161) finds that 'their ideas about illegitimate

and legitimate view points are intermingled.' Moreover, as Ashby and Lee (1998: 22) suggest, 'personal bias' is more easily recognised by students than 'shared beliefs and background philosophies'. It is often noted that students tend to disregard any point of view as a kind of partisanship. Given this confusion between legitimate and illegitimate points of view, more attention needs to be paid to the 'positive values of a historian's subjectivity as a means for bringing new ideas, new questions into historical science from outside, as against the tendency to develop ingenuity for its own sake' (Cercadillo 2000: 256).

Understanding the role of the author of stories appears to be an important parameter within which students' ideas about historical accounts make progress. Mapping progression in students' ideas about differences in accounts, Lee and Ashby (2000: 211) suggest that there was an increase with age in attributing the differences to author issues: ranging from authors' mistakes (mainly through inadequate knowledge) through intentional distortion by authors (dogmatism, lies, and bias) to the importance of authors' viewpoints (without any intentional desire to mislead). However, for Lee and Ashby (2000: 212), the relationship between ideas about problems of knowledge and ideas about problems of authorship needs to be addressed with a caveat:

> Although the shift from authors as reporters and compilers to a more active role seems to go hand in hand with older students' increasing awareness of partisanship, individual students may treat knowledge and author problems as running parallel in explaining differences between stories.

Acknowledging students' frequent exposure to conflicting historical interpretation in popular culture as well as inside school, Lee (2001: 26) highlights the importance of disciplinary understanding of history:

> Once they [students] understand that accounts are not copies of the past, but constructions within a chosen set of boundaries, and answering a limited range of questions, they can begin to understand how several valid accounts can co-exist, without threatening the possibility of historical knowledge.

What follows from these observations is that, as Lee and Ashby (2000: 216) aptly point out,

As students develop more powerful ideas about how we can make claims about the past and about the ways different kinds of claims may be substantiated or overturned, they acquire the best intellectual toolkit we have for thinking about the human world in time. This is not a set of generic "skills" that can be improved by practice but a complex of multitrack understandings.

With this in mind, let us bring to the fore the question of the role of the positionality of historians in the light of the cultural function of history in general by looking at Rüsen's idea of 'historical culture'.

In Rüsen's view, as Jöng (1997: 282) describes, historians' claims to give accounts of the past intertwine with their contemporary culture:

> [...] what the life-world introduces into historical writing will always remain subject to the strictest criteria of scientific rationality [...] what has been filtered through the mazes of disciplinary historical research will often at a later stage be fed back into the life world again and will in this way contribute to the construction of an (ever more) realistic social and historical identity.

The inseparable link between historical writing and life that Jöng highlights above contributes to the achievement of a more enlightened society. In this context, facing a more uncertain future than ever, Rüsen emphasised the development of a sound perspective on the future on the basis of well-considered conceptions of the past (Jöng, 1998: 278). Therefore it is not accidental that Rüsen (1998: 11) summarises his concern with young students' historical consciousness:

> The historical knowledge grows, but their value system of judging what they know remains untouched by it. Accumulation of historical knowledge does evidently not bring about an increase in historisation in understanding the human world.

Prior to closing this section, it is worth nothing that Rüsen's ideas about 'historical orientation' differ from those of 'old hat' historicism. To put it simply, it is misleading to say that Rüsen's emphasis on the functional aspects of our contact with the past will bring us naive historicist domestication of the past, or unsound relativism. As Megill

(1994a: 51) describes, what sets Rüsen apart from mere appropriation of the past for present purpose is his plea for theory-oriented historiography based on methodological rationality:

> because it [historiography] is theoretically guided, it is able to stand apart from, and adopt a critical stance toward, the vague and ideologically-tinted knowledge [...] With its theoretical (universal) aspect, historiography "transcends the particularity of the commonsensical orientation of action within the life-world".

1.4. New directions in historical understanding

As described in the previous section, the question of how to enable students to see an active structuring of historical knowledge by historians as a part of cultural practice at a given time is not simple. More particularly, students tend to devalue the role of point of view in historical accounts, searching for only one right account of the past in the sense that it is free from any embedded values of the author. As Cercadillo (2000: 167) notes, even when employing a point of view is construed as a legitimate act, there is a significant difference within this stance:

> there may be a considerable distance from ideas that understand 'point of view' as unqualified opinion to ideas that perceive that 'point of view' is determined by what is available as evidence and also by the interpretation that historians may give to evidence (mediated by their background knowledge and interests).

For the latter students, different historical accounts arise from the fact that each historian tries to tell a new story on the basis of a different understanding of significance in history.

Furthermore, even if point of view is construed as an essential component for historical study, students have difficulties in dealing with the matter of validity and truth: how to evaluate different historical accounts; how to demonstrate the adequacy of a newer story, disregarding an old one. As discussed earlier, the historicity and objectivity of historical accounts can be compatible since historians' concentration on different aspects of a story involves not only their personal interests but also so-called 'methodological rationality':

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(Jöng, 1997: 285)

Therefore, as Rüsen's diagram (1993: 162) shows, while writing history serves the functions of orienting existence, responding to a human existential need and cognitive interest, historiography can, if properly done, go beyond mere reflection of the forces of life-practice, lending a new insight for human future (Megill, 1994a: 49).

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Figure 1. Jörn Rüsen's disciplinary matrix

Taking these considerations together, it is essential to provide students with an opportunity to get involved in the construction of historical knowledge. For instance, analysing history textbooks, Rüsen (1998: 13) reiterates that the difference and interrelationship between three main components of narrative competence – perception,

interpretation, and orientation – need to be explicitly taught: 'Laboratories of learning should not simply present historical knowledge but enable the student to distinguish its components and to gain it by his or her own effort to interrelate perception and interpretation.' Cercadillo (2000: 163), writing from a research perspective, argues a similar case, namely that it is critical to encourage students to produce historical accounts, leading them to be aware of the main features of historical study: 'different interpretation[s] may be brought to evidence for story parameter[s].'

There has been an increase in research on the cultural and psychological processes involved in the production of historical representations (Wertsch, 1994; Penuel and Wertsch, 1998; Wertsch and Rozin, 1998). According to the findings of such research, students' accounts of the past are oriented around 'a socioculturally provided narrative' (Penuel and Wertsch, 1998: 27), using 'a tightly organized mediational means' (Wertsch, 1994: 335) to connect aspects of their understanding of their own lives to the past. Importantly, noting the students' tendency to stick to a single pattern of organisation of narrative, Wertsch (1994: 334) draws attention to 'monological' or 'univocal' aspects of their account: 'The type of narrative organisation employed served to allow the presentation of only one perspective, or one voice, and made it difficult for other voice to emerge in an effective way.'

Given the fact that alternative narratives are unlikely to be produced by students due to their limited 'cultural tool kit', how can we create a sphere where a discourse about the relative validity of alternative interpretations of the past can be explored and elaborated? One of the answers to this question may lie in encouraging students to consider the historicity of constructions of the past, gauging interaction between the historical subject and the historical object within the same temporal field:

> we need to note that the construction of interests by means of discourse is itself socially determined and limited by the unequal resources (linguistic, conceptual, material, etc.) available to those who produce that discourse. Discursive construction thus necessarily refers back to the objective social positions and properties external to discourse that characterize the various groups, communities, and classes making up the social world.
>
> (Chartier, 1997: 20)

Summary

This chapter has aimed to clarify the conceptual framework within which this study was set by charting a range of perspectives on how a new appropriation of the past occurs in historical study. In particular, attention is drawn to Dray's ideas about 'points of view' and his approaches to 'present-centredness', which suggest the perspectival nature of historical knowledge. These ideas led history educators to situate and problematise students' ideas about perspective in historical representations, and posed a challenge to 'productively harness the juxtaposition of interpretations crossing the revisionist historical divide' (Seixas, 1994: 281). Given the ubiquitous cultural mediation of history by film, television and the press, more attention needs to be drawn to the question of how the affirmation (or negation) of a certain way of recounting the past comes into being at a given time. Furthermore, it is crucial to pay attention to the way in which an appropriate contextualisation of the past can be drawn. This issue gave rise to the construction of the research questions of this study, and will be addressed throughout the data analysis chapters. The following chapter attempts to situate this study within the area of research on adolescents' historical understanding by reviewing recent research on students' approaches to competing historical representations either in written history or in visual history, with particular reference to Seixas' and Boix-Mansilla's work.

Capter 2. Historical representations in educational research

In the previous chapter, a range of approaches to the role of perspective in historical study and its implications for history education, were discussed. This chapter aims to provide an account of how this study came into being, placing the central research questions within the context of similar issues pursued in other studies.

2.1. Background

The previous chapter discussed tensions arising from the notion of perspective in history, and similar tensions are apparent in connection with representations of the past. In the face of the so-called 'postmodern condition', there have been conflicting ideas about the possibility of objectivity in writing history. In particular, a sceptical position towards the possibility of true accounts of the past has raised the issue of the 'politics of truth' or 'identity politics,' creating an opposition between 'a position that emphasised the cognitive drive of history and a position that down-played its cognitive drive and emphasised its practical functions' (Lorenz, 2000: 439). In addition, postmodern relativists also base their notion of the impossibility of objective representation on the claim that all knowledge of reality presupposes some kind of linguistic construction (Lorenz, 2000: 414). This extreme form of the 'linguistic turn' led to revision within the postmodern critique of epistemology: 'cultural investigators mistook the concept of "sign" and "sign reading" for parts of the natural furniture of the world, rather than as historically generated "ways of seeing"' (Biernacki, 2000: 293, quoted in Spiegel, 2005: 9)

On the one hand, what made postmodern approaches to history problematic is postmodernism's understanding of how historical knowledge is reconfigured, 'reduc[ing] the historian's task to more or less elaborate forms of historiographical critique [...] (history as the continuous contest over how the past is approached or invoked)' (Elley, 2005: 45). On the other hand, its stress on the historicisation of historical knowledge points us to a need to examine the relationship between historical meaning-making and its sociologically situated contexts. This raises important issues for teaching and learning history: is historical

knowledge about past realities a product constructed in the present?; would acknowledgement of historical representations as 'social' acts enable students to interpret conflicting frameworks of historical accounts, without succumbing to postmodern doubt?

Responding to postmodern interpretations of historical knowledge, Hirst (1985: 54, quoted in Elley, 2005: 46) points out some misconceptions of historical knowledge as general notions of 'truth':

> Historical knowledge works by posing, re-posing and displacing questions, not by accumulating 'evidence' independently of them. Facts are not given, it is only relative to a question that we can begin to access to the value of those materials which are to constitute evidence for the answer to it.

Furthermore, acknowledging the downsides and positive effects of the 'linguistic turn', 'post-linguistic turn' historiography shifts its focus from 'the level of totalized images of "culture" and "society" to local sites of practice and everyday life' (Spiegel, 2005: 24-25). Identifying a recent rehabilitation of social history with a focus on the dialectical interplay of system and practice, Spiegel (2005: 25) draws attention to the potential of 'Practice Theory':

> Although "Pactice Theory" as such has scarcely attained the status of a visible "theory" in any real sense of the world, the accent it places on the historically generated and always contingent nature of structures of culture returns historiography to its age-old concern with process, agents, change, and transformation, while demanding the kind of empirically grounded research into particularities of social and cultural conditions with which historians are by training and tradition most comfortable.

The remaining issue is how to enable students to understand a tension between the logical operation involved in producing knowledge and the historicity of both the object and the approach produced by such knowledge. Postmodern approaches to perspective in historical representations tend to frame the relationship between interpretation of the past and the perception of the present in terms of identity politics, blurring the line between political appropriation and historical knowledge. As a result, competing historiographies are posed as constant struggles over domestication of the past created by the historian's narrative strategy. Carr (2006: 240) criticises extreme forms of postmodern critique of epistemology in that, for postmodern commentators, objectivity and narrative are incompatible: 'any claim that goes

beyond the assertion of bare facts, any attempt to relate them to one another, interpret their significance, or trace them to underlying pattern is supposedly a product of the author's imagination.'

In the area of research on adolescents' historical thinking, the picture of adolescents' responses to the phenomenon of historical revisionism was delineated in one study by students' viewing a pair of films with competing (even contesting) interpretive frameworks (Seixas, 1993, 1994). Seixas chose historical films as a medium to identify the picture of students' understanding of historical representations, assuming that 'people's perceptions of history are shaped most profoundly by the images presented on film' (Vidal, 1992: 11-12, quoted in Seixas, 1994: 279). Moreover, the development of electronic technologies continues to redefine people's perception of the images presented on visual media. Characterising the effect of interactive CD as 'virtual reality', Harper (2003: 182) emphasises the lost connection between image and 'truth':

> Now it is no longer what we see (or hear and feel) that is real, as in the case of a science based on unchallenged claims to represent the world. Rather we choose to immerse ourselves in a fictional perceptional reality – that is, a perceptual world that is the result of our imagination and a machine.

In the following section, some major issues centred on historical representation and recent research on adolescents' ideas about representing the past will be mapped out, with the aim of providing a context for this study.

2.2. Conceptualising and historicising historical representations

According to Ankersmit (2001: 138), historical representation is 'metaphorical', as is the case with artistic representation: that is, 'by inviting us to see one thing from the point of view of another thing, metaphor effects an *organisation* of knowledge' (Ankersmit's italics). This view forms part of a narrative in which metaphor functions as a device for the organisation of knowledge in historical writing, continuously renewing historical reconstruction on the basis of the previous historical representations. In Ankersmit's view, the existence of criteria for representative coherence and consistency would make historical

debate possible via 'intertextuality': 'historians never approach the past without the mediation of many prior encounters with historical reconstructions, and [...] much of the endeavor of historical practice is to situate new work in the tradition of discourse that has gone before [...]' (Zammito, 2005: 164).

Facing the issues and challenges centred on historical representations, researchers in the field of history education have attempted to understand adolescents' ideas about how the past is represented. Related studies include attention to students' reasoning about the past, its representation, and its uses in the past (Seixas and Clark, 2004) and to students' epistemological orientations towards rival knowledge claims about the past (Boix-Mansilla, 2005). These two studies are different both in terms of their focus, and in terms of the research tools used. The former sought to identify students' approaches to the relationship between the moral order of the colonial past (the represented) and pictorial depictions of the past constructed in the 1930s (historical representations), and the contemporary controversy concerning the monumental status of the paintings (historical consciousness). In contrast, the latter aimed at examining students' epistemological beliefs about the standards of acceptability in the face of two conflicting historical accounts in terms of their scope, focus on the historical actors, and causal attribution. In short, Seixas and Clark's study considers students' reading of colonial-period murals in the British Columbia Legislative buildings, which raised the issue of 'fair' representations of the collective past in the public sphere. In contrast, Boix-Mansilla's study investigated students' understanding of academic historical writings whose interpretive frameworks are different. However, what these studies have in common, is their attempt to trace the tools or criteria that students employ in assessing the historical representations in question – either in the form of paintings or written documents.

In Seixas and Clark's (2004: 167-168) view, it is students' cultural tools, nurtured by schooling and the larger culture, which shape their approaches to the relationship between the past and present:

> [...] they have grown up on "fractured fairy tales" that undermine the morals of the old stories and popular films that challenge foundational myths [...] So the students in this sample were at ease judging the murals on the basis of moral baggage that the pictures carry forward into the present.

In Boix-Mansilla's (2005: 113) view, it is students' deeply engrained epistemological views that give rise to the way they make sense of the construction of historical knowledge. For instance, the types of responses reflected different disciplinary training backgrounds. For students with historical training, historical enquiry is perceived as 'guided by narrative and explanatory structures and geared to making the past intelligible to a present audience.' Those with scientific training, meanwhile, conceive 'historical enquiry as a progressive accumulation of portraits of the past depicted as it really happened – a view in which objectivity, accuracy and completeness [are] the paramount criteria against which to access accounts.' In other words, both studies touched upon the broader frameworks within which students make sense of historical representations: an objectivist versus a constructivist view of historical knowledge (in Boix-Mansilla's case); monumental, antiquarian, critical, and modern (Rüsen's genetic) type of historical consciousness (in Seixas and Clark's case).

Considering the issues raised by postmodern interpretations of historical representations, it is interesting to note the way students' interpretive frameworks are at work. Postmodern critiques tend to highlight the point that producing historical knowledge is contingent upon textual conceptualisation and political contestation in the present. In Boix-Mansilla's study, students' understandings of representations of the past in historical study do not echo postmodern anxiety about the empirical foundation of historical knowledge. Students' responses show their views on the nature of history: 'reproducing the past' versus 'organising the past'. While students' criteria for acceptance of historical knowledge broadly concur with an 'objectivist epistemic framework', there are signs of 'a constructivist view of historical knowledge – one in which narrative structures are the interpretative framework that guide historians in their selection and interpretation of sources of events' (Boix-Mansilla, 2005: 113-114). Most of all, some students – especially in the case of those falling into the category of 'organising the past', view historical accounts as provisional, and confidently frame the question of historicity of historical representations within the process of historical enquiry. As Boix-Mansilla (2005: 106) argues, 'they were aware of the temporal distance and perspective that defines historians' relationship to their object of study.'

In the case of Seixas and Clark's study, a range of perspectives on representing the past emerges, partly reflecting a cultural milieu in which historical representations are considered as 'an expression of our culture and values, a product of our historical epoch' (Carr, 2006: 236). Drawing on Rüsen's types of historical consciousness, Seixas and Clark analysed students' decisions about the preservation (or destruction) of traces from the colonial period. The most advanced type (genetic historical consciousness) showed complex understanding of continuity and change:

> this type subverts the original intentions of monuments and memorials, not by destroying them, but by studying them as products of their time, by historicizing them. It achieves a connection with the past, not by preserving an unchanging continuity, but by studying and understanding change from a particular historical moment: the present.
>
> (Seixas and Clark, 2004:158)

Interestingly, Seixas and Clark's analysis of students' judgements about the colonial past and its pictorial representation reveals that there is a relationship between their ideas about the question of correspondence and their strategies in interpreting historical paintings. Students who consider the paintings as 'transparent' representations of the past tend not to question the monumental status of the murals, grounding their decisions of preservation on the accuracy of the paintings. In contrast, students who do not explicitly mention correspondence or accuracy consider the paintings as unfair or inaccurate pictorial representations, thus subscribing to the idea of either the removal or the alteration of the murals[4]. These students are thus divided into two categories: those who did not make a statement about the moral order of the colonial past and those who made a reference to the historical reality, injustice in the past itself.

It is the group who make no explicit statements about the colonial past who show confidence in interpreting the historical representations in question. As Seixas and Clark (2004: 163) remarked, 'hesitant [...] to focus on historical inaccuracy in the details, students

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[4] Seixas and Clark (2004) analysed students' writings on the 'mural controversy' in British Columbia, the topic of the Begbie Canadian Contest in April 2001. Students who participated in the contest were asked to write a paragraph 'supporting either the retention or the removal of the paintings, or suggesting some way to resolve the problem' (Seixas and Clark, 2004: 151).

concentrated on the kind of message that they conveyed to the viewer.' This leads us to consider the issue of a cognitive relation to historical reality in the production of new or counter historical narratives since 'the issue is not reduction to reference but its inclusion in the concept of historical representation' (Zammito, 2005: 168). Curiously, in Seixas and Clark's study, students who 'freed' themselves from the constraints of historical actuality excelled, engaging with a detailed examination of the visual language of the paintings:

> Those who approached the question most competently did so by mining the text (i.e., the murals) and its visual vocabulary in such a way that they could make claims about the representation, the meaning it conveyed, and the fairness of those meanings.
>
> (Seixas and Clark, 2004: 167)

Of course, it is misleading to say that these students' approaches to historical representations reflect their ideas about the organisation of historical knowledge since, as Seixas and Clark (2004: 167) admit, provision of some documents produced in the colonial period would have led students to make different kinds of statements. However, the findings of Seixas and Clark's study suggest a further direction for the debates surrounding historical representations. In particular, the findings raise the issue of how to conceptualise the renewal of historical representations. In his study, students who focused on 'a detailed textual examination of the paintings' exhibited a critical type of historical consciousness, producing 'a *counternarrative* [...] a way to unmask a given story as a betrayal, debunk it as misinformation' (Seixas and Clark, 2004: 165).

This points us to a need to consider the question of making sense of the historicity of historical representations: do historical representations evolve exclusively on the basis of analysis of the inner logic (metaphor or trope) of the previous representations without renewed comparison with past reality? As Zammito (2005: 172) suggests, unlike artistic representation, 'historical representation seeks to assert actuality, and the actual exerts constraints.'

This study set out to examine students' ideas about different representations of the past, exploring their assumptions about how historical accounts came into being. Although historical films were given to students as a 'text' for their reasoning about historical

representations, the purpose of this study does not exclude the analysis of their ideas about the relationship between the representation (historical account) and the represented (past actuality) in historical study. As is the case with historical paintings, historical films can be a useful tool for exploring students' ideas about the historicity of historical representations. As Seixas and Clark (2004: 168) remind us, 'these exercises require a variety of textual traces – those from the historical moment under discussion as well as historical representations constructed at various later times.' In the following section, other studies on students' interpretations of filmic history will be introduced, focusing on their framework and their implications for history education.

2.3. An outline of research on students' readings of cinematic rewritings of history

As noted earlier, postmodern approaches to writing history have questioned the possibility of objective historical accounts in a professional study of history. History in schools is not immune to this challenge. Most of all, as Seixas (2000: 27) points out, dealing with competing interpretations of the past, history teachers seem to get involved in four aspects of the postmodern critique: the narrativity of history, the positionality of historians, the limitation of progress, and the textuality of sources. This is not the place to discuss all the arguments caused by the postmodern challenge to school history. However, attention will be drawn to the first two, bringing those into the context of current research on teaching history: in particular, studies of shared cultural knowledge as a reference for the present.

Notably, exploring high school students' ideas about changing interpretations through time, Seixas (1994) and Wineburg (2001) have used film as a medium to map students' tacit knowledge, which comes into play as an interpretative framework for given accounts. For Seixas (1994: 281), the viewing experience of popular and familiar historical films enables students to 'harness the juxtaposition of interpretations crossing the revisionist divide.' Initially, Seixas is concerned with how the moral dimensions of the Canadian high school students' readings of filmic rewriting of the past is implemented in response to the two contrasting epic westerns, *The Searchers* (directed by John Ford, 1956) and *Dances with Wolves* (directed by Kevin Costner, 1990). For example, the first half of the interview

questions are constructed in an overt attempt to reveal students' ideas of the moral frameworks of the two films and the grounds for their reasoning: 'Are there any heroes or villains?', or 'Are there any victims in these films? Who are they?'; 'How would you explain the difference between these two pictures?', or 'Which is more accurate in its picture of life for Natives [or whites] in the West in the 1860s?' (Seixas, 1994: 282).

However, in the course of analysing the students' comparisons of the two films, another dimension of the students' readings is revealed; that is to say, as Seixas (1993: 263) realises, 'the very familiarity of the social and cinematic conventions of *Dances with Wolves* render[s] the medium transparent.' In contrast, the students conceive the traditional western, *The Searchers*, as 'a cultural product of the 1950s, dated in every way, from its social assumptions and cinematographic conventions to its background music.' To put this another way, the students' epistemological assumptions about filmic representations of the past seem to hinge on their understanding of the interpretive differences between the films. Ironically, while the poor technical and aesthetic qualities of *The Searchers* lead the students into viewing a film as a cultural construct, the 'modern' qualities of *Dances with Wolves* prevent them from identifying the film as a social artifact (Seixas, 1994: 280). The students' attitude towards the two films reflect their ideas about 'reality' in the filmic past, pointing us to a possible way of employing historical films in the history classroom. For instance, one teaching approach to using films in a disciplinary way can be characterised as follows:

> […] the importance of confronting students with interpretive stances that differ from their own as a means of challenging and developing ideas about historical films by making the apparent "transparency" of films that accord with our present preconceptions more problematic
>
> (Ashby, Lee, and Shemilt, 2005: 151)

In Seixas' view, it is instructive to enable students to see film making and film viewing as 'historically situated cultural constructs'. In fact, it is not inappropriate to assume a close link between the range of the students' responses to contending presentations of the past – from unawareness of interpretive differences through turning to mere juxtaposition to providing grounded claims – and their idea of the construction of a historical narrative. Significantly, facing the contrasting frameworks of the two films, one student was not susceptible either to 'postmodern doubt' or to mere eclecticism, 'standing outside of an

imagined audience':

> [...] the films were, for her, still moral acts with social consequences, part of ongoing cultural dialogue about truth, knowledge, and power. The strength of her position lay in her imaginative recognition of film making and film viewing as social and moral acts.
>
> (Seixas, 1994: 278)

In particular, it is worth noting the relationship between students' ideas about the different interpretive frames of the two films and their responses to historical revisionism: from a student for whom contrasting historical interpretations posed no moral dilemma, through students whose confidence in the progressive growth of knowledge warranted their belief in the newer film, to a student who used her understanding of the film as social act to reinforce her sense of moral purpose and direction (Seixas, 1994: 280). Emphasising the importance of creating 'conceptual challenges' in history classrooms, Seixas suggests that the exercise of the juxtaposition of different interpretations and the construction of a historical narrative can give students an opportunity to 'see both the range of choices that are not dictated by the historical record and the consequences of those choices for the moral messages of their stories' (Seixas, 1994: 281).

However, presenting these findings and their implications for teaching history, Seixas (1994: 280) also acknowledges a possible gap between research settings and students' everyday viewing experiences: that is, 'The [research] exercise differed in many important ways from the conditions under which young people typically view and respond to films.' In other words, even though the issue of how young people react to filmic representations of the past is pursued in his study, the question regarding the extent to which everyday interpretations of media material are collectively constructed through social interaction remains unresolved.

It is Wineburg's joint parent-child interview about the Vietnam War and the meaning of the 1960s that explores how students position themselves as historical beings, in an everyday context:

> Our interest went beyond the classroom. We wanted to understand how these fifteen teenagers understand their own pasts, including the histories of their

> families and communities. This meant interviewing them in the context of their homes [...] Our primary goal was to get one generation to talk to the other about an issue of historical significance
>
> (Wineburg, 2001: 233-4)

Through implementing joint parent-child interviews with pictures and songs related to the Vietnam War, Wineburg attempted to investigate the differences between 'lived memory' (in the parents' case) and 'learned memory' (in the students' case). Central to this issue seems to be the shaping of historical knowledge in everyday life. As Wineburg (2001: 235) observed, while the parents' responses indicate a strong personal connection with the event, those of the students rarely show a sign of 'lived memory' that co-habits with their present.

Interestingly, despite the different attitudes of the parent and child towards the recent past as a site of memory, both parents and adolescents share ideas about everyday criteria for sound historical judgement, disregarding any role of emotion as undermining historical objectivity:

> Because of his distance from Vietnam, John [a fifteen-year-old student] claimed that he was "more objective" than either parent, consequently, could offer a better historical account [...] History, for John's dad, was about "analysis", and he even expressed concern that the emotion he displayed in our interview might introduce unwanted "bias" into our study.
>
> (Wineburg, 2001: 236-7)

In Wineburg's (2001: 237) view, John's image of an objective historian, whose work is immune from his personal connection to the subject, can be attributed not so much to the influence of history lessons as to everyday contexts, including his parents' view.

However, Wineburg (2001: 240) found that there were moments when the past intrudes into the adolescents' present, leading them into engagement with feeling about a particular issue or topic. In particular, popular films such as *Forrest Gump* (directed by Robert Zemeckis, 1994) and *Schindler's List* (directed by Steven Spielburg, 1993) play an important role as an interpretive framework for the past. As one student, John, commented:

> Oh, because you – any point in history, you look at, war builds up an economy. It's like in *Schindler's List*. Schindler said, I tried all these businesses and they never worked because I never had one thing [war].

> My parents I think related to it [*Forrest Gump*] in a totally different way than I did [...] I thought it was a really good movie. That it had a lot to say, could learn a lot from it – attitudes [...] one of the hippies looks at Forrest Gump in his military uniform, and he goes, 'Who's the baby killer?'
>
> (Wineburg, 2001: 239-40)

In Wineburg's (2001: 241) view, the filmic past tends to become a students' frame of reference for the present, invoking associations with 'the fictionalised past'. The sources of John's understanding about war in general and the meaning of Vietnam in 1960s were drawn not only from learning in school but also from watching historical films. Moreover, for Wineburg (2001: 241), the ubiquity of the past on video can be characterised as a powerful encounter with 'the always available past'; 'Because the human mind remembers detail far better than its provenance, the detail remains but its source falls away' (Seifert, Abelson and Mckoon, 1986, quoted in Wineburg, 2001: 241). Consequently, what is striking is that a certain image of the past in the media begins to contribute to, in Wineburg's (2001: 242) terms, 'collective occlusion', which screens and blocks a particular memory in the transmission process. The intergenerational aspect of Wineburg's study seems to highlight this aspect of social memory, revealing the adolescents' difficulty in decoding cultural messages remote from their own experiences: 'the codes parents took for granted [are] anything but self-evident to their children' (Wineburg, 2001: 244).

Given the main findings of the two studies summarised so far, a few basic points emerge. First, the crystalisation of a certain image of the past in the media functions as, to use Wertsch's words, (1994: 335) a 'mediational means', or 'cultural tool', inflecting adolescents' understanding of the past. The second point exists in a kind of tension with the first, namely that a film, serving as a socioculturally provided narrative, does not in any way mechanically determine the viewer's generation of knowledge about the past. This is a point identified by Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock (1998: 140):

> How the text looks and what it means always depend, to some extent at least, upon where you stand in relation to it [...] The media text is certainly a point of connection between the encoder and the decoder, but it does not bring them into a position of symmetry.

For this reason, it is difficult to define the process by which viewers draw on certain codes in their interpretation of a media text. Let us bring the discussion to a close by suggesting some of the implications for teaching history. A task comparing a popular or familiar historical film with a comparable film whose moral frame is at odds with students' own can provide an opportunity to explore the correspondence and interconnection between social practice and discourse at a given time and place. As Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock (1998: 209) argue, it is challenging to define the cultural and psychological process involved in the production of historical representations:

> [...] it is also harder for us now, in our changed circumstances and from our altered historical perspectives, to interpret visual images as they may have been understood in the past. While the formal or technical features of their construction may be more apparent to us, the contextual forces shaping that construction, the complex transaction occurring between social dynamics and media products, have now to be reconstructed by us in our changed conditions of cultural life.

However, as Seixas' research indicates, some students, who view a film as a reflection of contemporary social needs and the contemporary social condition, are able to engage with articulating interpretive differences through time. Crucially, given the interwoven relationship between sets of signs and social value judgements within a film, 'it is important to stress that the concept of polysemy does not entail the possibility of an absolutely unlimited reading' (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock, 1998: 144):

> [...] the meanings of media texts, particularly when they refer to common-sense values or socially sensitive issues, are often structured in ways which exert pressure on the process of decoding, channelling understanding one way rather than another and setting the stage for 'legitimate' interpretation.

It follows that different presentations of the past in films can offer students an opportunity to explore relationships between the historicity of construction of the past and positionality of historians. What matters is that, as Lorenz (2000: 415) aptly points out, 'constructing is not identical to fictionalising, but a legitimate and necessary *cognitive* activity': that is, '[...] the *empirical* variability of interpretation through time – alias its time index – does not logically entail the conclusion that interpretation changes through time in an *arbitrary way'* (Lorenz,

2000: 422, author's italics).

Taking these considerations together, it might be valuable for history teachers if the use of films in history classrooms attempts to enable students to be reflexive about the choice of a guiding perspective in the context of narrative construction:

> [...] the practices that make up a society require certain self-descriptions on the part of participants. These self-description can be called constitutive ... language does not only serve to *depict* ourselves and the world, it also helps to *constitute* our lives.
>
> (Taylor, 1985: 9, quoted in Lorenz, 2000: 441)

This section outlined major findings of previous research that have touched on students' ideas about the cinematic rewriting of history. In this study, the focus lay in identifying the way in which adolescents interpret the image of the past in cinema, placing it against their understanding of the role of perspective in historical study. To be more specific, this study sought to map out students' ideas about competing representations of past realities through their comparison of different filmic portrayals of the past.

Summary

This chapter has discussed recent research on students' interpretations of competing historical representations, with the aim of providing an empirical base for the rationale of this study. First, the recent debate centred on historical representations in historical study (especially, Ankersmit's work) and its implications for history education were discussed, with a focus on postmodern interpretations of historical representations and their critiques. This was followed by a review of two previous research studies on students' interpretations of competing historical representations in written history (in the case of Boix-Mansilla's work) and in visual history (in the case of Seixas and Clark's work). While the former focused on students' beliefs about the standards of acceptability in historical knowledge, the latter examined students' approaches to the cultural frameworks of historical representations across time. Despite the differences both in terms of their focus and research materials, these two studies have a common ground in that both mapped out students' pictures of the past as

indicating a belief system within which students assess competing historical representations. In the following chapter, in an attempt to situate the research questions in the context of the research setting, the main characteristics of history education in South Korea are outlined.

Chapter 3. Context of the research

This study set out to explore South Korean students' conceptual framework of historical understandings, with a focus on their assumptions about the production and modification of historical representations, by using two contrasting sets of films. The impact of various teaching approaches in history classrooms on students' interpretation of the filmic past is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is important to provide a general picture of history education in South Korea, with particular attention paid to the status and role of history as a school subject, as well as recent developments in the field of history education. In the following sections, the context of this research will be provided through a brief introduction to the national and disciplinary traditions of Korean historiography as well as the organisation of the history curriculum and the purposes of history teaching in South Korea.

3.1. Putting research questions into the South Korean context[5]

Although there has been a growing interest in research about students' preconceptions of history as a discipline, empirical research on their understanding of history remains scant in South Korea. The focus of the existing body of research in history education in South Korea is narrow, in that it is confined to either textbook analysis or teaching approaches. It is often noted that suggestions for a particular teaching method – e.g. the use of written sources or historical films in history classrooms – have been made without conducting empirical research on students' ideas about historical concepts, for example, their assumptions about the nature of historical representations, either in written or in visual forms.

Across different cultures, a range of recent research on adolescents' historical understanding has focused on what underlies their ideas about historical concepts: historical accounts (Lee and Shemilt, 2004; Lee, 2005), historical representations (Seixas, 1994; Seixas and Clark, 2004), historical significance (Cercadillo, 2001), historical explanation (Barca, 2005), the types of relation students adopted to the past and their historical consciousness (Apostolidou,

[5] Apart from Y. Kim's and M.-S. Kim's article, South Korean researchers' work quoted in this study is the researcher's translation from Korean texts.

2006). What is common in this research is that the authors are all concerned with the development of procedural concepts rather than simply the acquisition of substantive historical knowledge. This kind of approach is not confined to Europe and the U.S., as can be seen, for instance, in the recent special issue of *Education Review* (Schmidt and Garcia, 2006) in Brazil, the contents of which signal a range of interest in adolescents' perception of history such as the development of primary school children's idea of time (Cainelli, 2006) and the use of history textbooks and types of historical consciousness (de Medeiros, 2006). A similar line of cognitive research is also conducted in East Asian countries – e.g. Taiwanese middle school students' understanding of the nature of accounts in history textbooks (Hsiao, 2005); Taiwanese high school students' ideas about historical accounts and their views on the value of history (Hsiao, 2008); Singaporean students' concepts about the nature of accounts in history and teachers' views on students' preconceptions (Afandi and Baildon: forthcoming); South Korean middle school students' types of understanding of source material (Kang, 1994). It is not only academic research but also the reforms of education policy that reflect the growing interest in students' disciplinary understanding. In Singapore and South Korea, for instance, there is a move toward source-work in examinations, which aim to assess students' understanding of historical evidence.

On the one hand, these empirical investigations lead us to build up a model of progression in adolescents' historical thinking, suggesting a possible relationship between different aspects of historical understanding such as historical change and historical significance. On the other hand, elaborating these developmental schemes directs more attention to the context of historical learning, calling for international comparisons. For instance, emphasising the sociocultural nature of the construction of historical knowledge, Barton and Levstik (2004: 19) argue that '[...] analysis of historical thinking benefits from considering it not as a property of individual cognition that remains constant across settings, but as a social practice that individuals engage in differently depending on context.'

Clearly, this study did not set out to compare existing historical thinking skills amongst South Korean adolescents with those of youth in other countries. Rather, identifying South Korean students' ideas about historical representations was seen as a way of shedding light on the issue of progression in historical understanding, raising the question: What are the

characteristics of historical understanding amongst adolescents in a country where history education centres on a broad exposition of positivistic knowledge? This does not meant that this study intended to privilege a 'Western' model of progression of historical understanding and to label Korean historiographical traditions as deficit vehicles for providing students with history as a form of knowledge. One might argue that 'Western' concepts are indiscriminately transferred to the analysis of non-Western students' historical understanding, but as shown above, research studies in other cultures have been undertaken, paying attention to students' preconceptions of history, since students' ideas about what it is possible to know about the past and how to validate historical accounts are considered central to students' learning of history in a range of cultures. Despite the danger of over-simplification, an attempt has been made to offer overviews of the salient features of Korean historiography in this section as it may be helpful to touch upon the issue of the 'particularity' of Korean historiography and its relation to research on teaching of history in South Korea.

One of the main features of traditional Korean historiography can be characterised as its 'official' nature of history produced by each dynasty. Labelling this characteristic as a 'primary cultural undertaking', Sato (2002: 133) suggests that 'In the case of China and Korea [...] the historical materials collected at the Office for Historical Compilation were destroyed after each official history was completed. This was to guard against the rewriting or changing of this single, sacred official history, published under the name of the government.'

A range of attempts to identify 'different' types of historical understanding in non-Western cultures tend to make negative comparisons, which evaluate a society based on the absence of a category chosen as a result of a polarisation of differences and similarities. For instance, compared to Western historiography, Chinese historiography is depicted as lacking in any attempt to 'establish "universal historical law" or theorize about the entire process of human history' (Yü, 2002: 167). Responding to Burk's (2002) juxtaposition between Western and non-Western historiography in terms of concerns with epistemology and causal explanation, Yü (2002: 167) draws attention to some examples of Chinese historians' awareness of the importance of historical significance that arises from 'historical trends' or 'patterns of change'. However, despite his uneasiness towards the idea of 'underdevelopment of

"theoretical or speculative reason" in the Chinese tradition (Chin, 1981, quoted in Yü, 2002: 169), Yü partly accommodates this deficit model by suggesting that '[...] by and large, no systematic attempt was made to theorize about "ultimate causes" or search for "general laws" in history as such'[6].

As can be seen in the following two sections, some characteristics of East Asian historiography such as a 'moralistic view of history' (Sato, 2002: 139) and the 'critical function of history' (Yü, 2002:159) can be identified in the study of history in South Korea as continuing elements of traditional features of historical writing. However, preoccupation with determinants of what constitutes 'tradition' can lead to lapsing into a kind of essentialism as this view tends not to acknowledge that 'the construction of tradition is part of the work of modernity' (Prasad, 1998: 107).

What is striking in historical studies in South Korea after independence from Japanese colonial rule is that emphasis is put on 'restoration' of cultural tradition as well as modernisation of historical methods. Outlining the establishment of a Korean history department at the National University in Seoul, Y. Kim (1980: 43) draws attention to the 'dominant' community of historians specializing in Korean history who considered 'the goal of the activities of the department as lying primarily in the promotion of correct understanding of history and the cultural tradition of the Korean people through a scientific systematization of Korean history.' In the face of the sheer scale of the nation building project, professional historians conceived the role of academic history as rectification of understanding of Korean history.

This kind of preoccupation with clarification of historical development in Korea is fuelled by an attempt to reconstruct the national past based on a new point of reference drawn from Western historiography, that is, periodizing national history according to the Marx's theory of social development. It is these concerns with periodization amongst professional

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[6] This kind of positivistic approach to history, which stresses general laws and all encompassing theories, cannot be counted as a 'Western' ideal of a historiography any longer. Moreover, the debate on comparisons of historiography across cultures has shifted its focus from essentialism based on a polarised distinction between 'cognitive' versus 'normative' historical thinking, to the sociocultural role played by historiography in different cultures.

historians that have impacted on the debates on the content selection of history textbooks, which have formed a major part of the existing body of research on history education in South Korea. The ways in which academic history shapes debates on the aim of school history will be delineated in the following two sections.

3.2. The status and role of school history in South Korea

In this section, the main features of history education in South Korea are outlined. A key focus is on the issues affecting curriculum reforms and the development and use of history textbooks. Although many dimensions exist, four principal characteristics of history in school are salient.

First, the status of history as a school subject in South Korea fluctuated over the seven revisions of the National Curriculum between 1954 and 2001, reflecting political and sociocultural changes (for the revision of National Curriculum Guidelines in South Korea between 1954 and 2001, see Appendix A; For a more detailed description of the characteristics of the South Korean National Curriculum, see Appendix B). However, the strong emphasis on school history as a medium for developing national identity has remained persistent, strengthening the status of Korean history in the latest curriculum revision at the expense of world history (for the National Curriculum and time assigned for each subject, see Appendix C). The 7th National Curriculum clearly exemplifies this characteristic. For instance, at lower secondary level (middle school: between the ages of 13 and 15), Korean history is taught as a separate subject, while world history is treated as part of the curricular subject of social studies. At upper secondary level (high school: between the ages of 16 and 18), the pre-modern period of Korean history is taught until the end of Year 10, which is the final year of the 'Basic Common Curriculum'. From Year 11, students can choose 'Advanced Subjects' according to their future area of studies at university. As a result of the seventh revision of the National Curriculum, modern and contemporary Korean history has become optional, which has led to accusations of neglecting the 'national past'

Interestingly, compared to Korean history, the fate of world history did not draw much public attention, even though it is likely that students at upper secondary level hardly

encounter an opportunity to learn cross-national or cultural history – world history is one of the optional subjects along with geography, economics, politics, law and society, and society and culture, and is only for students in humanities streams.

At the time of data collection (between May and June in 2003), the seventh National Curriculum, which was initially applied to primary level during the school year of 2000, had been expanded to all students at secondary level except for those in Year 12 (the final year of secondary education). Since both task sets used in this study deal with modern world history, neither topic was familiar to participants. For instance, in the case of the lower secondary level, neither unit of the inter-war period in Europe and the Second World War, which briefly covers the Russian Revolution and the Holocaust respectively, had been taught at the time of data collection – most interviewees were Year 8 students at middle school. In the case of the upper secondary level – the majority of participants at high school were Year 11 students, apart from a few students who opted for world history – substantive knowledge about the events was limited, reliant on a remote memory of the final year (Year 9) of middle school history.

Second, despite the recent change towards textbook pluralism[7], the structure of curriculum and textbook development is highly centralised in South Korea. In particular, while world history textbooks submitted by private companies are 'authorised' or 'recognised' by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (Type 2 or Type 3), the copyright of a Korean history textbook (up to the end of the 'Basic Common Curriculum') is held by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (Type1). As is the case with other East Asian countries, the state-authorised or state-approved history textbooks play an

[7] School textbooks are divided into three categories: 'Type One [textbooks] are those for which copyrights are held by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development. The textbooks which are authorised by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development and published by private publishers comprise Type Two. Type Three is recognised by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development as relevant and useful.' (*Education in Korea 2005-2006*, Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, Republic of Korea, p.38). Type 2 and Type 3 (government approved or recognised) textbooks for the advanced level (Year 11 and 12) were under development at the time of conducting this research. As a result, 'plural' Modern and Contemporary Korean history textbooks began to emerge at the time of data collection (2003), which was welcomed by history teachers and researchers in history education. More thorough implementation of this policy is making progress. It will be only at primary level that government-published Korean history textbooks (Type One) are in use from 2008.

important role in promoting a particular version of the past: 'the level of official control over textbooks and a strong and long-standing belief in the need for an authoritatively "correct" version of history have all tended to reinforce the importance attached by both students and teachers to the approved text' (Vickers, 2005: 5). Moreover, the centralised examination structure tends to lead teachers to follow the long chronology model of history in the National Curriculum. Of course, this does not mean that there is no room for teachers to digress from authorised textbooks and the tightly regulated curriculum. For instance, despite the pressure of coverage, teachers of the students in this study made an attempt to organise in-depth study on some particular events or periods, providing students with supplementary or 'alternative' learning materials to authorised texts (for a brief discussion of classroom observation conducted during data collection, see Appendix D).

Third, it is often noted that educational debates on history curriculum development have a tendency to highlight content selection rather than the way that history is taught in the classroom. In particular, the focus on textbook research lies in examining the question of how far the textbook reflects the development of research on Korean history:

> [...] the reason for the continuous debates on the textbook adoption of a particular theory of periodization in Korean history can be ascribed to the fact that there is only one Korean history textbook. It is true that the accumulation of research on Korean history has enriched the content of the Korean history textbook. However, what is at issue here is that a particular theory is presented as the authorised version. For this reason, academics in the field of Korean history have been campaigning for the pluralization of Korean history textbooks.[8]
>
> (H.-J. Kim, 1992: 130)

Moreover, the content of Korean history textbooks tends to bring about nationwide public debates on the way a narrative of the national past is presented. For instance, some teachers of the students in this study, who wrote Contemporary Korean history textbooks, were exposed to right-wing public criticism for their treatment of the socialist movements and

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[8] Each unit of a Korean history textbook is drafted by state-commissioned academics, who are specialised in a particular period. It undergoes a process of revision by state-appointed teachers, whose main task involves adjusting the given text in terms of each Year students' level of literacy or other competence (For the recent change of the government-authorised textbook system, see note 7).

uprisings in the 1940s and their critical appraisal of the previous right-wing regime.[9] While a detailed account of 'controversial' events was considered as a blind endorsement of the North Korean regime (in the case of the former), a critical approach to the former government was perceived as a sign of failing to remain 'neutral' (in the case of the latter).

Finally, strong attachments to nationalism remain an important feature of Korean history textbooks. Despite a recent softening of the approach to Japan, the period of Japanese colonial rule receives more extensive coverage than other periods in history textbooks. While an anti-Communist stance in history textbooks has gradually been replaced by the theme of reunification, anti-Japanese discourse remains prevalent, though with some revisions (Wilson, Ford, and Jones, 2005: 247). Importantly, it is not only the unit on the colonial period that presents an anti-Japan stance. As M.-S. Kim (2006: 81) points out, Japanese imperialism became the most important external 'other' in South Korean textbook discourse: 'subordinate experience under Japanese colonialism or national suffering are displaced with national superiority in that "our" culture was more advanced than Japanese culture and "we" educated the Japanese.'

Moreover, it is not only formal schooling but also sociocultural discourse that plays an important role in promoting a strong sense of 'Koreanness'. In particular, the issue of the Korean comfort women and its alleged under-representation in history textbooks in Japan tends to receive extensive media coverage. 'Offending' extracts of Japanese history textbooks are often featured in newspaper articles, provoking nation-wide protest, which calls for the revision or withdrawal of the Japanese textbooks in question. The question of the extent to which history education reflects a national effort to mobilise national unity through appropriating the past is beyond the scope of this study. However, it appears that history teaching is expected to function in a socialising role, contributing to the formation of national identity. Interestingly, a comparison of North and South Korean history textbooks pointed to commonalities between the two Koreas: 'a similar absolute and totalising vision

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[9] This dispute over a textbook published by a Korean publishing company was provoked by a criticism raised by an MP in October, 2004. Responding to the accusation of being 'pro-North Korean regime', the Association of Korean History Studies and the Association of History Education in South Korea issued a joint statement that defended the authors of the history textbook. (*History Education [Yeok-Sa-Kyo-Yook]*, No. 92, December, 2004).

of ethno- cultural Koreanness and a similarly moralising and didactic approach to history education' (Vickers, 2005: 26).

3.3. The changing phases of history education in South Korea

In the previous section, the salient features of school history in South Korea were outlined, with a focus on recent curriculum development and its relation to the research setting. Although the aim of teaching history as a contribution to identity formation was strongly present at the time of data collection, it is worth noting that debates on history education in South Korea have begun to take a new direction. This section considers the main issues raised by history educators in South Korea on future directions for the teaching and learning of history in schools. The recent debates in the field of history education seem to reflect both sociocultural climate changes, such as democratisation and globalization, and the inner development of research on the teaching and learning of history.

First, a 'nationalistic' approach to school history has been subjected to scrutiny as a result of attempts by postmodern critiques to 'deconstruct' nationalism as a dominant discourse, both in the study of history and in history education. A range of criticism was levelled at the so-called 'nationalist' historians in the field of Korean history, in that 'they undermined the epistemological foundation of historical studies by assuming the Korean Nation as a trans-historical or natural entity' (Im, 1994: 116-117). In a similar vein, these critiques also took issue with the way in which nationalism was used by the state; critics argued that 'the authoritarian state appropriated nationalism in the service of justification of its status and the oppression of dissidents' voice' (K.- B. Kim, 2002: 443).

The influx of postmodern critiques on the role of nationalism in the study of Korean history is not confined to historical studies. For instance, the ways in which the term 'nation' is deployed in school history textbooks have been criticized on the grounds that 'descriptions of the Korean nation in Korean history textbooks define nation and nationalism in a normative sense rather than in an empirical sense' (Ji, 2001: 82). In response to this criticism of the part nationalism plays in academic or school history, a counter-criticism was raised by both historians and history educators. Although the problematic tendency to equate the

Korean nation with the state is acknowledged, the postmodern approach to the role of nationalism in modern/contemporary Korean history has been thrown into doubt. This kind of scepticism towards postmodern critiques is based both on the limitations of the postmodern approach as a 'counter' discourse in the post-colonial era, and on the 'positive' role that nationalism has played in the recent past. For instance, while postmodern interpretations of history can offer an alternative to a Western model of modernisation that is based on linear development, it is often noted that the deconstruction of 'macro' discourse itself does not seem to be an effective tool to analyse the under-development of the Third World dominated by multi-national capital and new super powers (Im, 1996: 197).

It is paradoxical for some history educators to witness a postmodernist stance in South Korea orientating itself towards the 'universal' Enlightenment project. This is so because 'postmodernists in South Korea have turned critical discourses on homogeneous Westernisation into a criticism of the role which nationalism has played as a counter-narrative to that very totalizing force' (Seo, 2001; 10). Nevertheless, it is also worth noting that there has been an attempt to differentiate 'narrow' nationalism from 'open' nationalism. This position can be exemplified as follows:

> While the nationalism promoted by the authoritarian regime in the 1970s can be seen as oppressive state-nationalism, the nationalism on which the democratization movement in the 1970s and 1980s based itself played a significant role as a counter-discourse [...] It goes without saying that the 'nation' is not a mere product of imagination or fabrication [...] What is at issue here is the question of how to enable students to relate themselves to the 'nation' based on their own lives without imposing the 'abstract' and 'transhistorical' notion of the Korean nation.
>
> (J.-H. Yang, 2005: 307-8; 311-2)

On the one hand, this stance acknowledges the potential of the postmodern approach to teaching history, in that it can help students question the way school history is taught as the universally agreed knowledge of the past. This may be done by drawing students' attention to the constructed nature of historical knowledge. On the other hand, this positive stance towards nationalism reiterates the importance of the 'positioning' of the self based on the learner's understanding of the society to which he or she belongs (J.-H. Yang, 2005: 312-3).

Second, various efforts to set Korean history within a wider context of world history have begun to emerge, highlighting the inter-relatedness between different cultures. For instance, there has been a renewal of interest in learning world history, among those who voice concerns about limited historical understanding as a result of an exclusive focus on national history. As briefly touched upon in the previous section, what has concerned history teachers and history educators most is the fact that world history as a school subject has constantly been marginalized (Kang, 2003).

Initially, suggestions for the revitalisation of world history in the National Curriculum were made as offering alternatives to balance the monopoly of national history in school history. Recent history curriculum reform reflects the Korean government's attempt at responding to the challenges of globalisation: 'Given the sheer force of globalisation, it is essential to foster students' attitudes and capacities for understanding various cultures and values in the world' (Ministry of Education, 1997: 188-9). However, the current world history curriculum does not provide any indication that the Ministry will be able to achieve the aim as stated in the National Curriculum guidelines, primarily because the government-approved world history textbooks provide a mere sum of individual national histories.

One of the main criticisms of the current world history textbooks stems from a strong disapproval of Eurocentric universalism. Although a recent emphasis on the 'multicultural' approach to school history has brought about a certain degree of change in terms of how world history textbooks are structured, those who take a position that values a 'transnational' approach raise several concerns regarding the limitation of such revisions:

> The multicultural approach conceived world history as a whole array of various civilizations, and it brought non-European regions into the light. However, these regions were portrayed as a place where ancient civilization flourished in the remote past, rather than places that have evolved across time. Some world history textbooks that claimed to be based on an inter-regional approach did not seem to offer a challenge to the given framework that emphasises the agency of the Western world as the force moving history forward.
>
> (Lee, 2005: 438)

While a more radical inter-regional approach to world history is perceived as a desirable

alternative to the existing structure of world history textbooks that are centred on the stories of nations, some limitations of this new approach have also been identified. While highlighting the benefits of the inter-regional approach in terms of its capacities for providing a wider picture of human history, Kang (2005: 402) also pointed out its downside:

> World history textbooks based on an inter-regional approach explore changes in the regions in terms of external factors. As a result, there is a possibility that internal development within a nation can be glossed over. In other words, the pitfall of this approach is that it fails to provide a balanced view of the dynamics of changes in history.

As seen above, the effort to restructure world history textbooks reflects both a paradigm shift in historiography in general as well as in history educators' concerns with the narrow scope of school history, specifically, one that promotes the idea of pure cultural entities rather than a 'relational' notion of cultures.

At first sight, those who stress the positive role of nationalism in school history against postmodern critiques and those who are in favour of 'transnational' world history appear to be in conflict. In reality, however, the two stances are not in opposition. For instance, they both acknowledge the drawback of a postmodern approach to school history on the ground that postmodernism in South Korea has turned into a kind of orthodoxy imposed by the west, which fails to foreground the historical context of poststructuralist theory, which is the experience of decolonization. While both stances attempt to distance themselves from a 'reactive notion of authenticity in the form of cultural nationalism' (Lionnet and Shih, 2005: 9), both reiterate that the 'transnational' space created by globalisation is structured by uneven power relations. In addition to this, both stances form a unified front against an inter-disciplinary approach like teaching history as a part of social studies; both emphasise the 'distinctive' role which school history can play in orientating students' lives.

Third, more attention is beginning to be drawn to the impact of the discourse employed in history textbooks on individual learners rather than the issue of content selection, which mainly concerns academics who aim to promote a particular theory:

> [L]earning history has been turned into delivering knowledge about the past rather than producing historical knowledge. History textbooks appear to maximise the nature of text as a record. The content of textbooks is perceived as 'the objective truth'; the importance of meaning making from a learner's side has been glossed over.
>
> (H.-H.Yang, 2005: 44)

In addition, a growing interest in learner-centered approaches has given rise to a shift in focus from 'which history is taught' to 'how history is taught'. On the one hand, the shift in focus from history as given facts to history as contestable discourse reflects South Korean history educators' positive stance towards some elements of the postmodern approach to historical knowledge. On the other hand, this kind of emphasis on the constructed nature of historical knowledge amongst history educators in South Korea can partly be attributed to the broader context in which competing historical representations tend to be equated with the politics of historiographies in East Asia.

For instance, a debate on the National Curriculum reform is often set within a context of competing historical writings amongst China, Japan and South Korea. History educators in South Korea tend to appropriate the so-called 'history war' amongst East Asian countries in order to strengthen the status of history as a school subject, with the help of popular sentiments towards the 'national past' in the era of 'memory war'. As Jager and Mitter (2007: 4) point out, 'the post-Cold War period has placed more emphasis on Asian regional integration, which in turn has shaped the context in which the debate about war memory and postwar responsibility has become genuine public discourse'. While political disputes over war memories between Japan and South Korea are not an entirely new phenomenon, growing resentment toward the U.S. in South Korea became visible at the time of data collection.

The growth of anti-American feeling in South Korea can be attributed to 'post-Korean War historical revisionism' (Jager and Kim, 2007: 234). The decline of the 'continuous war paradigm' in South Korea had given rise to a popularised narrative of post-Korean War politics in which 'pan-Korean nationalism necessitates the expulsion of the foreign enemy – in this case the United States – to facilitate the commemoration of a "shared national spirit" that would finally end the Korean War' (Jager and Kim, 2007: 261). In the case of the

history lesson about the Korean War which the researcher observed during data collection in 2003, some references were made to the alleged killing of civilians by the U.S. army at Nogun-Ri during the war. This can be seen as an example of the shift in perception of the role of the U.S. in the Korean peninsula (for a transcriptions of the classroom observation, see Appendix D).

It is often noted that the purpose of history teaching is considered as contributing to orienting students' life. In other words, what history education should aim to achieve is to encourage a 'historical awareness' that can provide students with a sense of agency as historical actors. This stance has also problematised a 'positivistic' approach to history by arguing that 'the role of history teachers is reduced to a medium to deliver 'objective' knowledge' (H.-H. Yang, 2005: 44), thus ending up being complicit in justifying the suggested canon of national history. For that reason, providing students with a 'counter' narrative is considered as part of an attempt to raise consciousness. It is in this context that 'historical awareness' is juxtaposed with 'historical thinking skills'. The recent promotion of historical thinking skills in the latest National Curriculum reform has been regarded as the policy makers' attempt to de-politicize the aim of history teaching, as exemplified below:

> There is a tendency to endorse the development of historical thinking as a 'neutral' way of teaching history. In this approach, students are encouraged to approach the past as historians do while the judgement of the meanings and values of past events is left to the exercise of an individual learner's thinking process. Prioritizing the process of learning can lead to neutralising the content of learning, glossing over the distinct nature of the discipline.
>
> (H.- H. Yang, 2005: 37)

Of course, it would be misleading to say that some reservations about putting forward historical thinking skills in history education are equivalent to an endorsement of a return to learning history by rote. Clearly, the emphasis is put on teaching 'disciplinary methods', as exemplified below:

> [I]t is important to put an accent on the condition of historical studies, the process of historical knowledge and its relation to the social realities in which the end product is accommodated and circulated. This kind of history lesson can be based on a critical enquiry into disciplinary methods.

(H.-H. Yang, 2005: 39-40)

What is striking here is the call for more reflection on the nature of historical knowledge from a teacher's position. For instance, emphasising the importance of self-reflexivity for teaching practice, H.-H. Yang (2005: 46) went on to argue that learning history needs to go beyond the mere acquisition of received views on the past:

> History teachers need to pursue critiques and reflection on contemporary issues and the social/linguistic conditions of the formation of knowledge and theory. History teachers should enable students to question the history textbooks and explanations provided by teachers themselves.

As discussed in this section, history education in South Korea has entered a new phase of development, directing more attention to reflexive teaching practice as well as questioning the canonical status of history textbooks. Moreover, the recent debates on the aim of school history centring on the revisions of the National Curriculum began to focus on the characteristics of pedagogical content knowledge in school history (Song, 2007) and student's learning experience in history classrooms (Y.-H. Kim, 2006). The shift of focus formed part of attempts to reconcile competing ideas about the National Curriculum and relevance to schools in a highly centralised educational setting. The call for creating a sphere where diverse suggestions for school history shape policy decision is significant in that it can open up an opportunity both for de-centralisation of the National Curriculum and for proliferation of empirical research on teaching and learning history.

Summary

In this chapter, the context of the research setting is discussed, elaborating continuities and changes in conceptualisations of history education in South Korea. Although alternatives to existing history education are not monolithic, it is safe to say that history education in South Korea has entered a new phase of development, moving away from didactic approaches to learning history. The approach to school history as a means to deliver a 'coherent' national past has been recently challenged by postmodern critiques on the grounds that it promotes 'ahistorical' ideas about the nation as a given entity. In addition to this, various attempts to

re-organise the allegedly 'Eurocentric' world history curriculum that is based on the units of nation states have been made, pointing to an adoption of an 'interregional' or 'transnational' approach. As noted in the last section of this chapter, the debates on the aim of school history often reflect the broader sociocultural contexts in South Korea. Exploring the issue of whether such debates on the aim of school history and curriculum development may have a direct impact on classroom practice would require further research. However, the ways in which students made reference to experiences inside and out of school are discussed in the two sections of the concluding chapter, 11.1.2. and 11.2. In the following chapter, the construction and major findings of the pilot study are outlined.

Chapter 4. A preliminary exploration of students' ideas about historical representations – the pilot study

In the previous chapter, the main characteristics of history education in South Korea are outlined in an attempt to locate this study within the South Korean context. In this chapter, an initial attempt to explore students' interpretations of different historical representations was made through the use of a pair of historical films that differ from each other in terms of period and authorship. Semi-structured interviews preceded by film viewing were conducted in the pilot study. This pilot study formed a part of cycles required by the theoretical framework of research methods employed by this study. In the following, the research methods used in the pilot study, and its major findings, also will be outlined.

4.1. An outline of research questions

Recently, the influence of film on present-day historical consciousness and understanding has frequently been stressed, although with differing concerns. These range from warnings to adults about young viewers' unawareness of the distinction between real and merely imaginary events, through valuing films as cultural references to the past, to highlighting the possibility of using cinematic techniques to present the past in alternative ways. There is too little space to say much here about the range of views on the legitimacy of cinematic interpretations of the past. However, for the purpose of this section, some contrasts amongst these views will be drawn, with the aim of addressing a framework for research methods.

As discussed in the previous chapter, criticism of filmic representation of the past can be divided into two sets of concerns. First, limiting young viewers' cultural tools for understanding the past (crystallisation of the past). Second, blurring the boundary between the real and the imaginary. One of the aims of the pilot study was to identify the way in which young viewers reconstruct the image of the past from cinema, drawing attention to both the potential benefits and the downside of cinematic representations of history. It should be noted, however, that the pilot study did not seek to investigate the cultural function of the cinematic past in students' minds. Rather, this study set out to map the ways in which students conceive authorial subjectivity in reconstructing the past, focusing on the question

of how they set the author's viewpoint within a sociocultural context. Through the use of two films that vary in terms of their author, period, and audience, students' perceptions of different representations produced at a given place and time were investigated. Prior to proceeding to research methods, two important research questions for the pilot study, which seek to approach students' ideas of the filmic past, were addressed:

1) What strategies do students employ in order to approach a visual text?
- The ways students perceive and construe the author's perspective.
- The characteristics of students' assumptions about the limits of interpretation.
2) To what extent do visual representations of the past function as a backdrop against which students understand the past (or present) society?
- Students' ideas about the interaction between visual representations of the past and present-day concerns.

Methods followed in this pilot study were mainly qualitative, based on the analysis of group interviews (three in a group discussion), mapping students' ideas in different age-groups, 13 and 15-17 years old. Each age-group for this study was drawn respectively from South Korean middle and high school (for the number of participants in each age group, see Table 4.1)

4.2. Participants

The data were collected for the pilot study in three middle schools, five high schools and one Youth Centre between 13th April and 23rd April 2002. The process of sampling was opportunistic in that the participants were introduced to the researcher by their history teachers, who attended the same undergraduate or graduate course completed by the researcher in South Korea. Even though an attempt to strike a balance in the composition of participants in terms of their age, gender and academic ability was made, most of the participants were academically high performers. The teachers tended to ask high-achievers to participate in the interview, assuming the unfamiliar 'content' of the task might be too challenging for academically less able students as the topic of the task, the Russian Revolution, had not yet been taught at the time of interview. The demographic features of

participants and the characteristics of participant schools are as follows:

Table 4.1. Participants for the pilot study.

School	Participating schools	Year (age)	Boys	Girls
Middle School	3 inner city school (Middle School A,B,C)	Year 2 (13)	5	5
High School	2 inner city schools; (High School A, B) 2 suburban schools (High School C,D) 1 rural school (High School E)	Year 1 (15-16)	9	2
		Year 2 (16-17)	5	5
Youth Centre F		(15-17)		2
		(18-21)		2
Total			19	16
				35

4.3. Instruments and procedures

In an initial attempt to map the interaction between students' assumptions and the clues in the visual text, the pilot study task set was based on Seixas' (1994) research, drawing a

comparison of students' responses to two filmic representations of the past, *October* (directed by Sergei Eisenstein, USSR, 1928) and *Reds* (directed by Warren Beatty, USA, 1981). Despite the overlap in the setting of the films – The Russian Revolution – the ways in which the events were addressed are contrasting. The production backgrounds of the two films are different. The first film (*October*) was created to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the overthrow of Kerensky's provisional government under the Stalin regime. The second film (*Reds*) aimed to focus on telling the story of left-wing American journalist, John (aka Jack in the movie) Reed, and was made by Beatty within the tradition and norms of Hollywood film industry (in Beatty's case). Differences lie not only in the projects' original intentions but also in their ways of chronicling the revolution. While Eisenstein's silent historical epic as a tribute to the proletariat is bitingly satirical and overtly political, Beatty's biographical historical drama based on *Ten Days That Shook the World* runs through Reed's on-off romance with left-wing activist Louise Bryant. As for the responses at the time of release of the films, these vary, too. The former, an experiment in montage, the blend of symbolism and realism, found little official favour in the Soviet Union; the latter, focused through strong narrative and unified drama, won an Oscar award for best direction.

Since this pilot study sought to explore how students approached different visual representations of the past, the segments from each film were shown in turn, followed by semi-structured interviews (for the interview protocols, see Appendix E). After each segment, students were asked to say whether there was any difference between two films, and if any, how and why they differed. The selection of the segments[10] takes into account two principal points: (1) the interplay between students' ideas about reality and their interpretation of the truth status of historical accounts, and (2) the role of the conceptions of the present employed by students in interpreting a visual text.

The first part of the interview concerned the ways in which students came to grips with forms of representation in each film: the range of strategies they used in an attempt to compare or contrast a given pair of film clips. The viewing of the first pair of film clips was followed by the question below:

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[10] For the film script of each segment used in this study, see Appendix G.

1. Is there any difference between the two films?

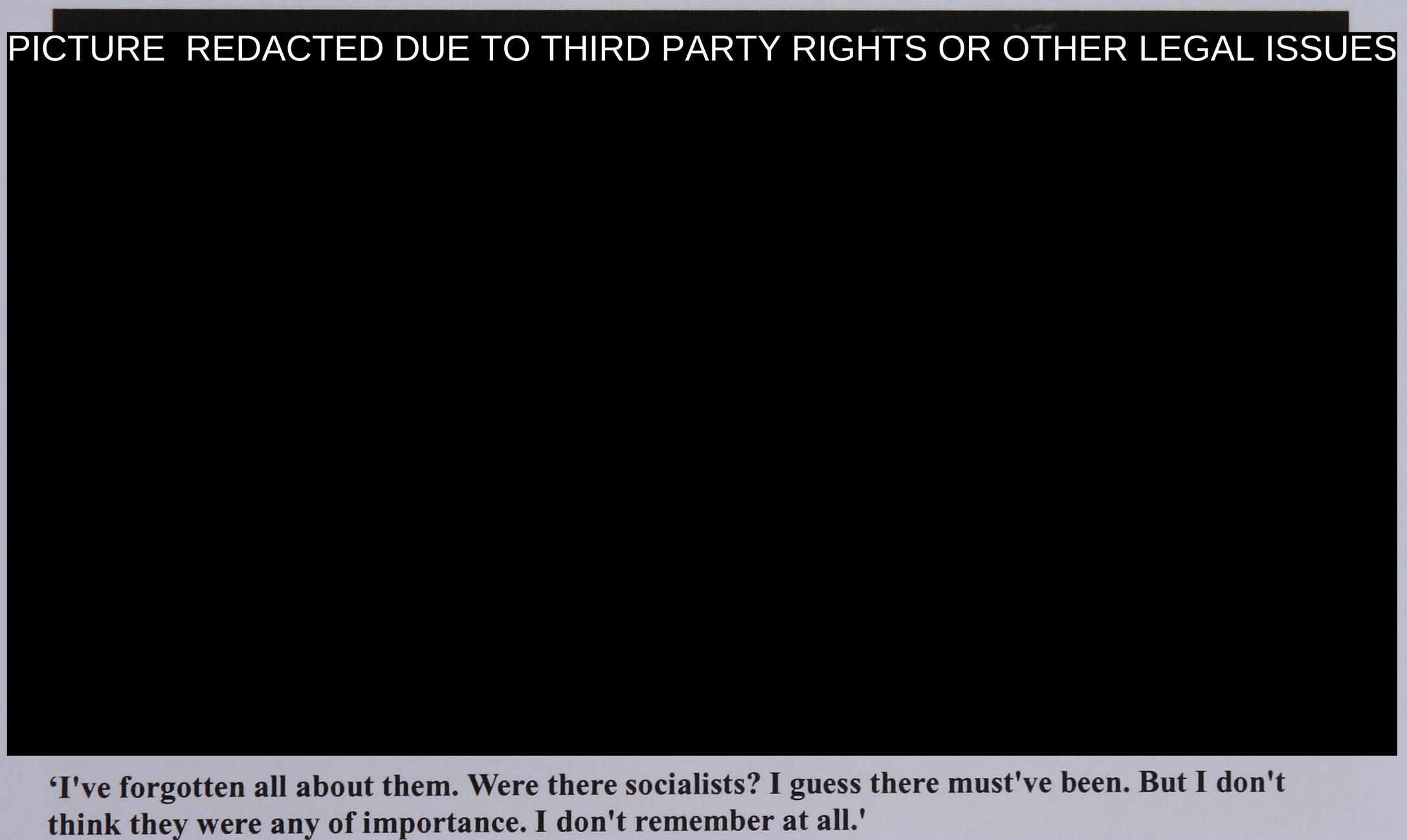
- If the answer is 'No', what is the same? And how is this possible?

- If the answer is 'Yes', how do they differ? And how are such differences possible?

The first film segment of *Reds* shows eye-witnesses' recollection of John Reed, Louise Bryant and other radicals in the Greenwich circle. Even though *Reds* takes the form of historical fiction, it also makes claim to be regarded as 'history'. As Rosenstone (2006: 106) points out, 'This [the presentation of drama framed by documentary mode] raises the question of which is more fictional and which is more accurate – the dramatised past or the remembered past.'

Reds Segment 1 for the pilot study[11]: Old narrators' recollections about American radicals from 1915 to the 1920s

Scene 1: Old narrators talk about John (aka Jack) Reed and Louise Bryant



'I've forgotten all about them. Were there socialists? I guess there must've been. But I don't think they were any of importance. I don't remember at all.'

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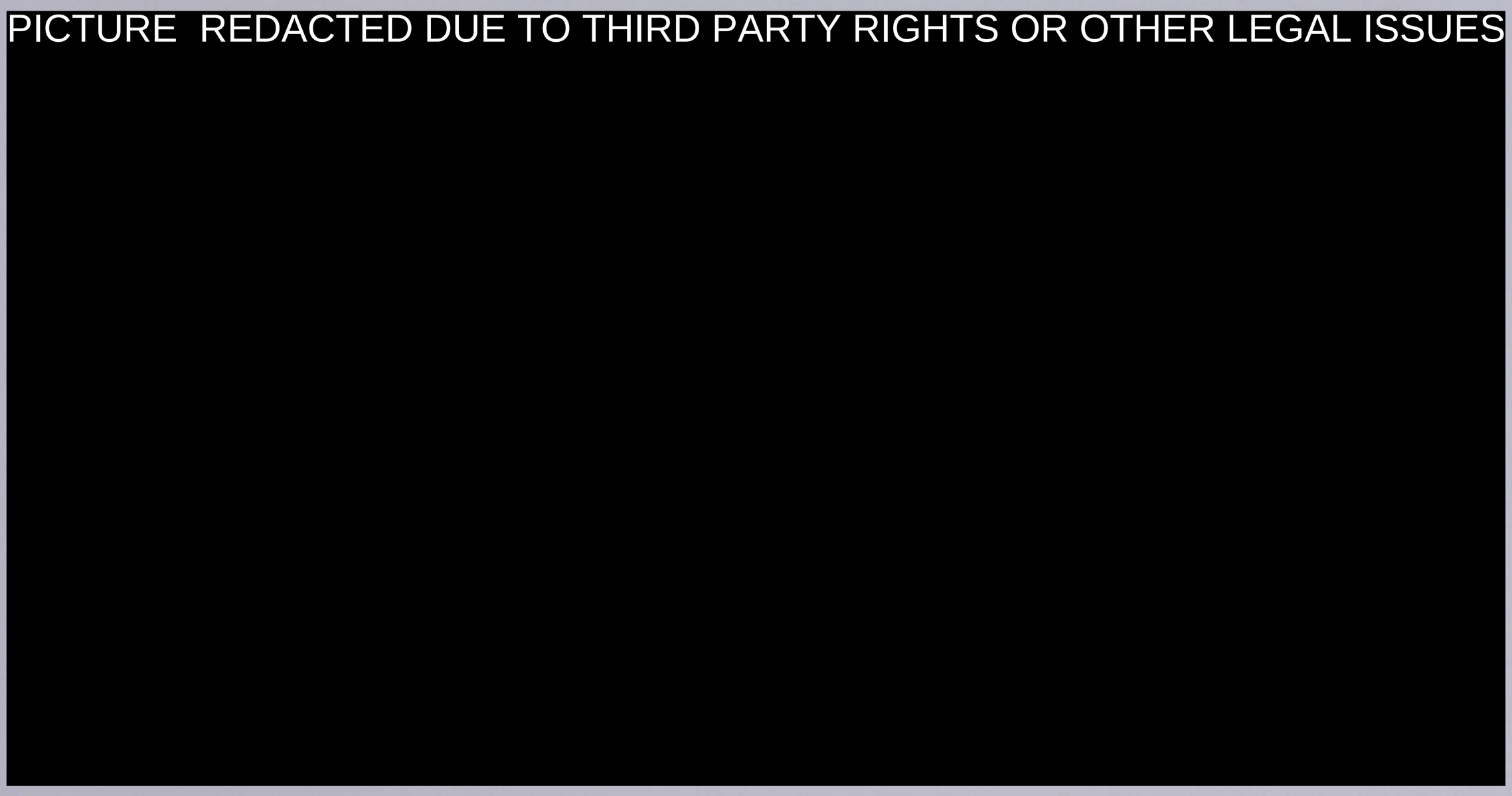
[11] These still photographs are included here to illustrate the film clips used for this study. Students watched film clips with Korean subtitles edited by the researcher rather than still images. The captions labelled here with inverted commas are drawn from the film script of each film.

‘I think that’s a guy who’s always interested in the condition of the world and changing it […] Jack, well, I wouldn’t call him a playboy, but some people did.’



Jack in action, covering the revolution in Mexico

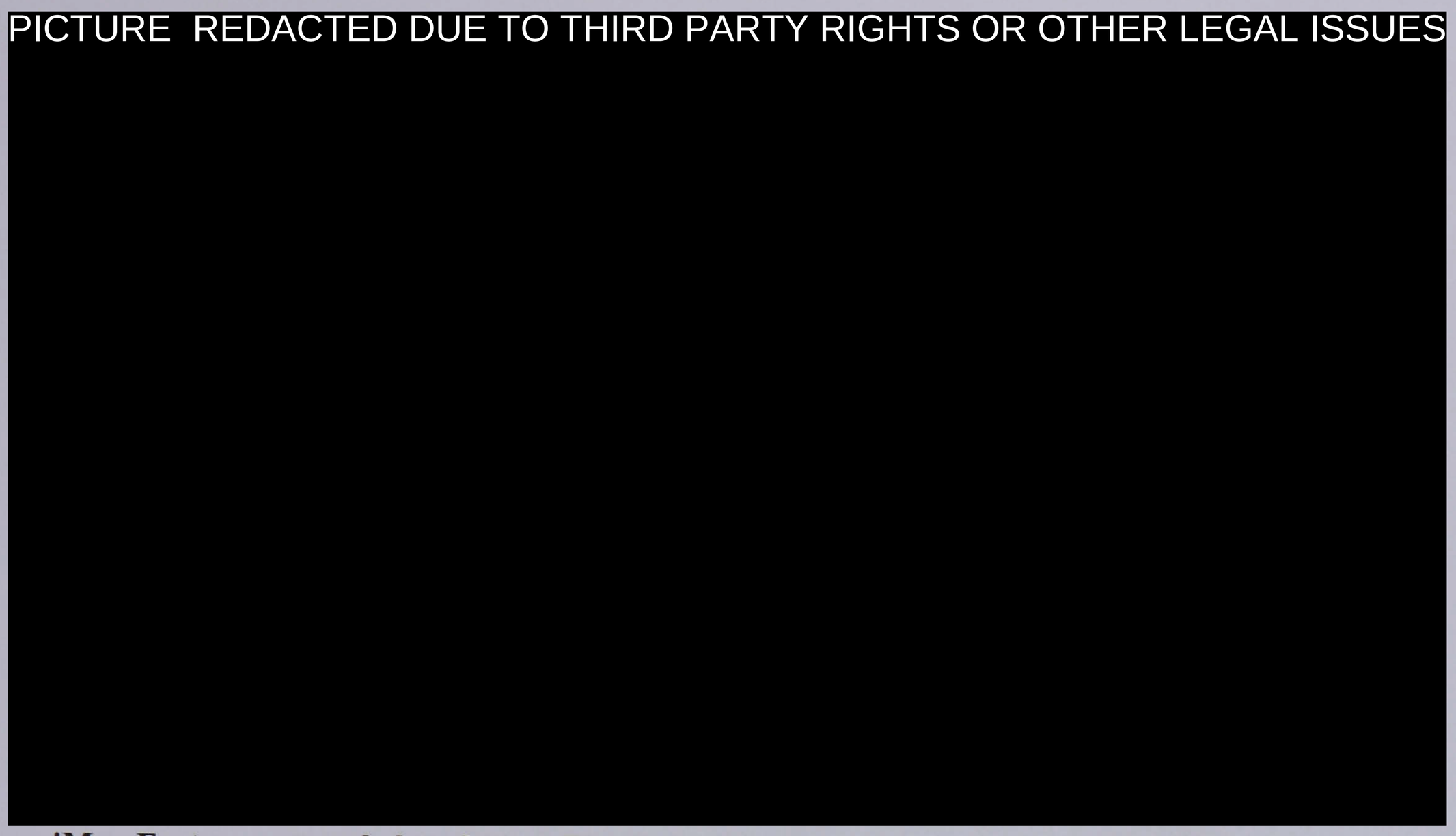
Scene 2: A recollection about the radicals in America in the mid-1910s in New York

PICTURE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Louise arrives at Greenwich Village, a centre of dissent

PICTURE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

'I think it was Emma Goldman. I never forgot her. She inspired me to the very depths.'

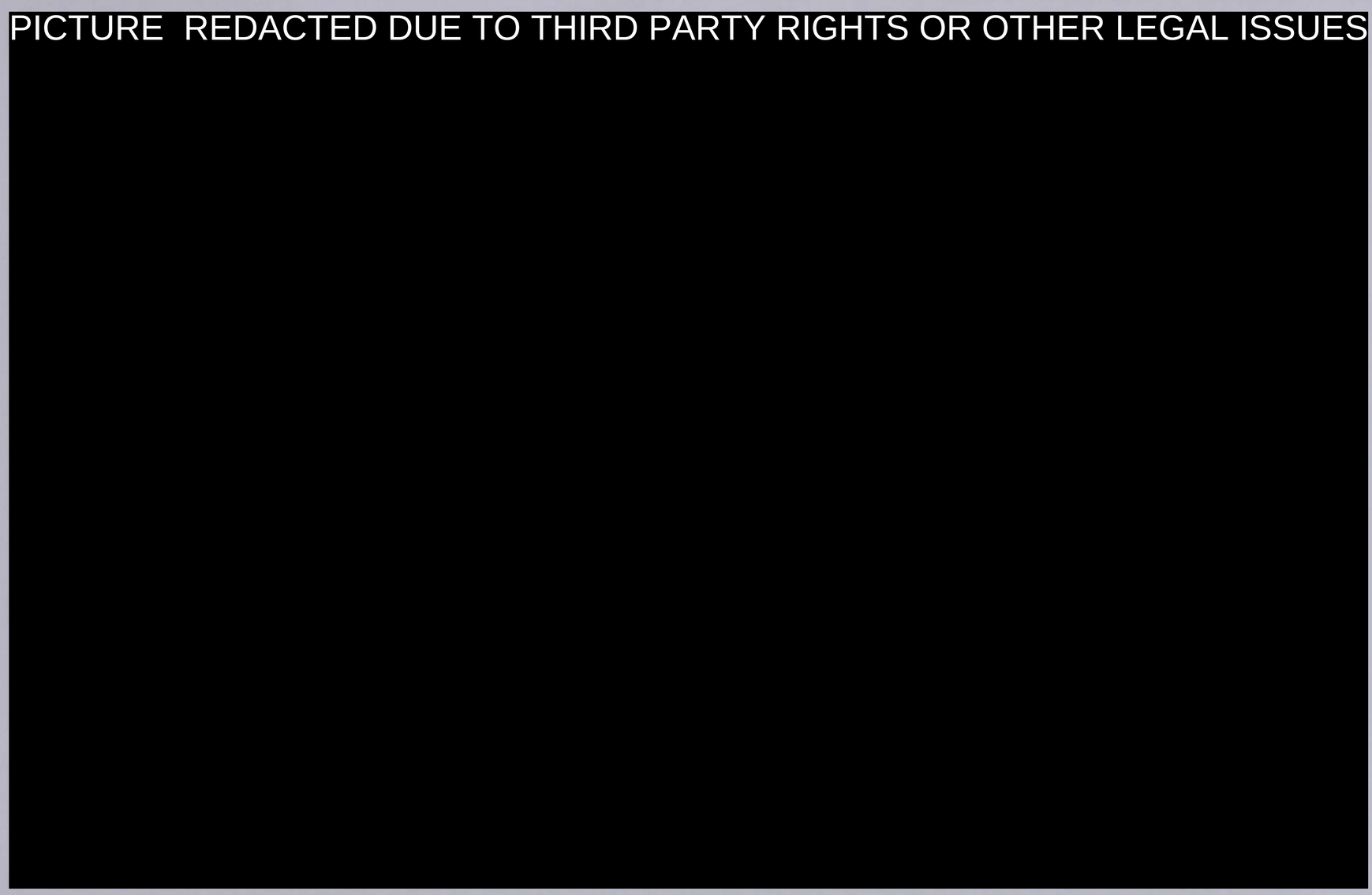


'Max Eastman was a beloved man. The real radical, a free spirit. He was in that same group with Emma Goldman.'

In the case of the first film clip in *October*, the way it tells the story also takes a form of eye-witness testimony, though with different filmic devices. As seen in *October* Segment 1, the opening sequence of the film shows the statue of Alexander III being toppled as if it were documented history – it is not until 1921 that the real statue was removed. Interestingly enough, as is also the case with the scene of storming the Winter Palace, *October* is not telling the past 'as it was'. Defining what Eisenstein sought as 'historic scope', Rosenstone (2006: 66-67) suggests that 'it is also a symbolic version of that change – and the historical consequences that would follow from it.' Of course, whether students perceive the fictional/documentary elements or a certain mixture of both in each film is another issue. Prior to viewing, students were provided with background knowledge about each film such as the year of release and production country as well as the theme each film had covered. Bearing this in mind, some of the criteria for comparison were explicitly stated by the researcher from the outset. However, what is at issue here is whether students in this study would take this information into consideration, and, if so, how the viewers would weave these factors into their own interpretations. Most of all, the first pair of film clips aimed to explore the range of strategies students would employ, with less emphasis on a particular perspective from which to look at the film clips.

October Segment 1 for the pilot study: The February Revolution

Scene 1: Toppling of the statue of Alexander III



People rushing into the square where the statue stands

Climbing up the statue

PICTURE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Tightening a rope around the statue

PICTURE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Revolutionary soldiers and workers

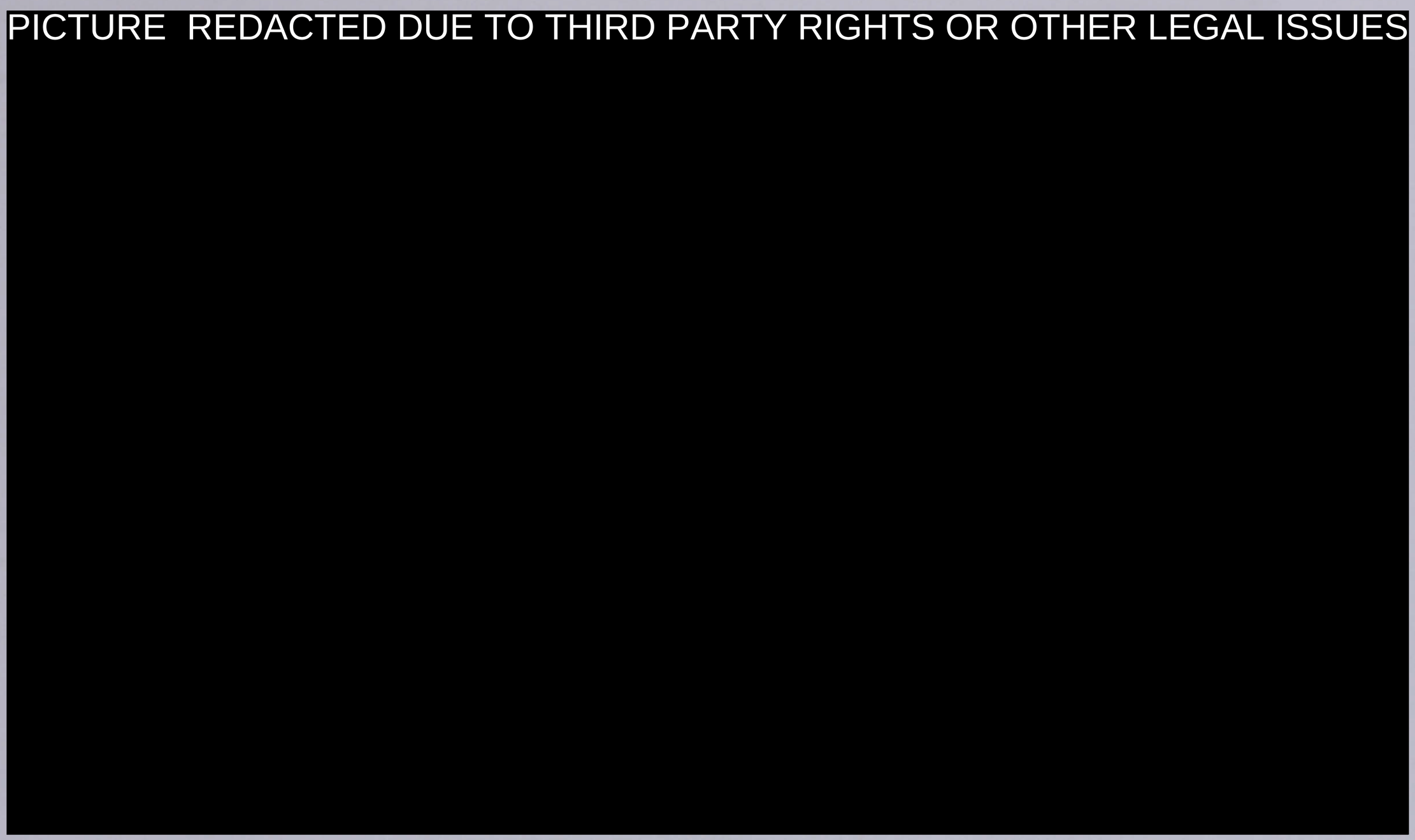
PICTURE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

The peasants' rising

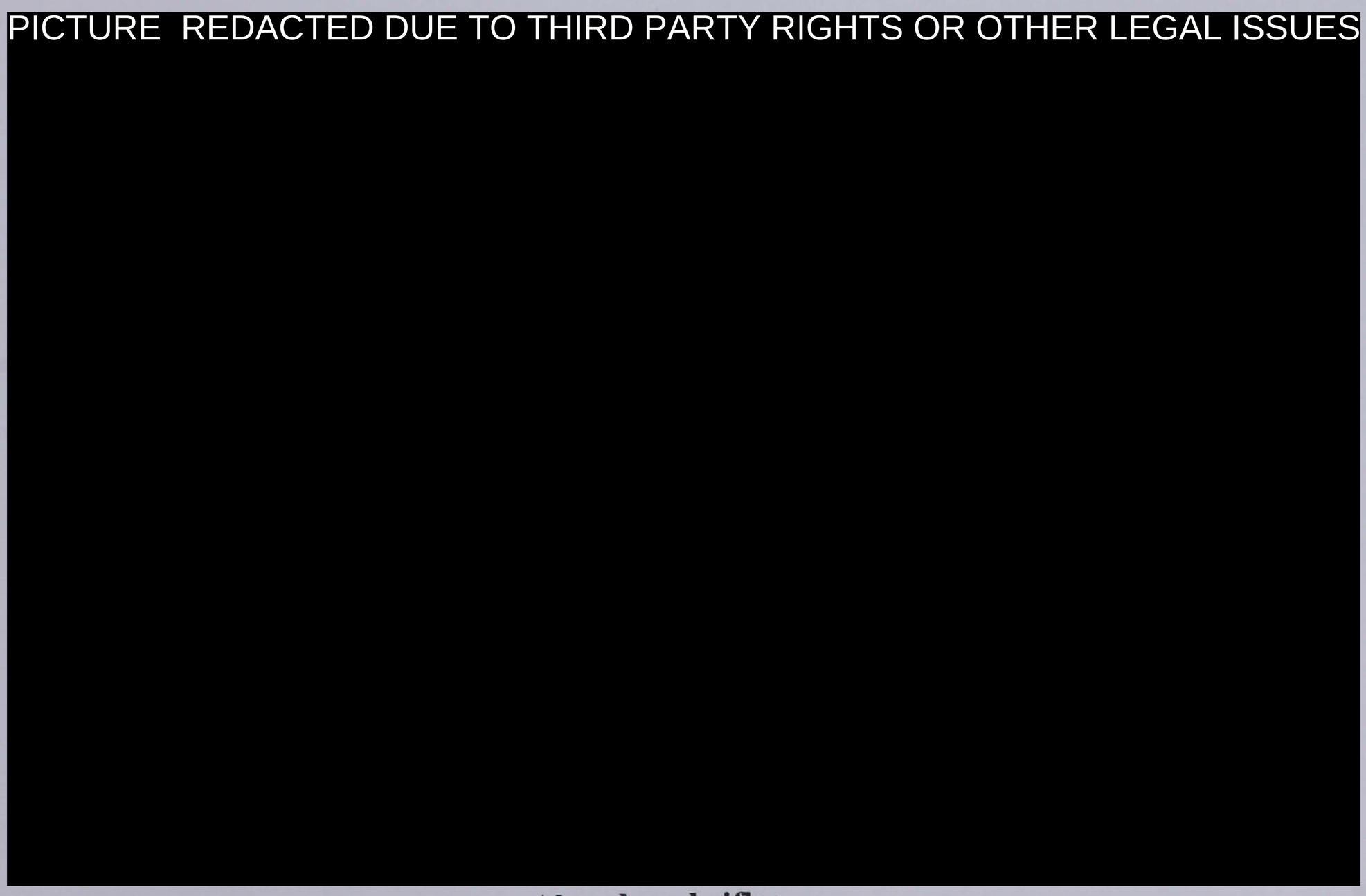
PICTURE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

The statue falls

Scene 2: Fraternisation – an expectation of ending the war

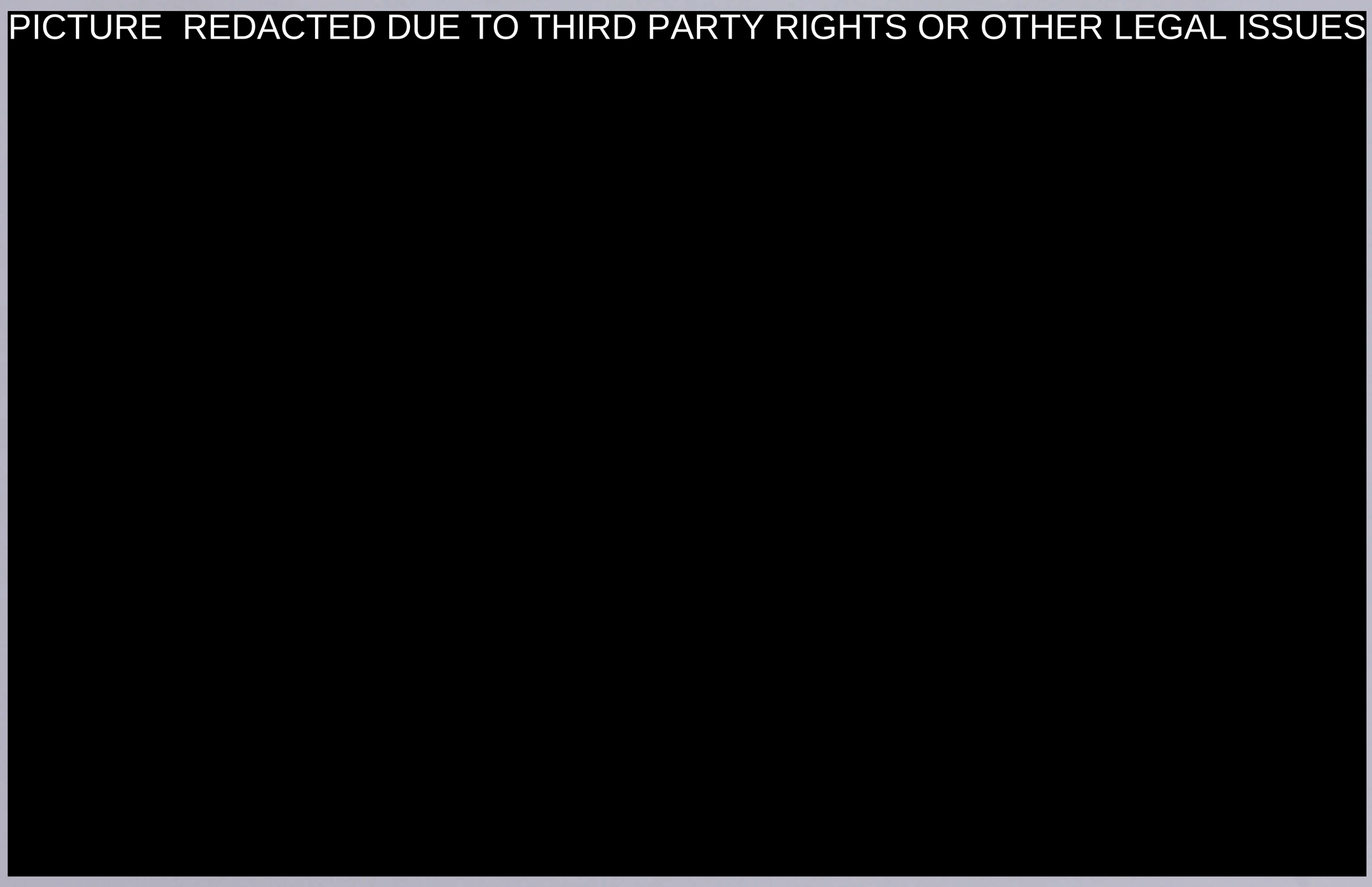


A brief moment of peace



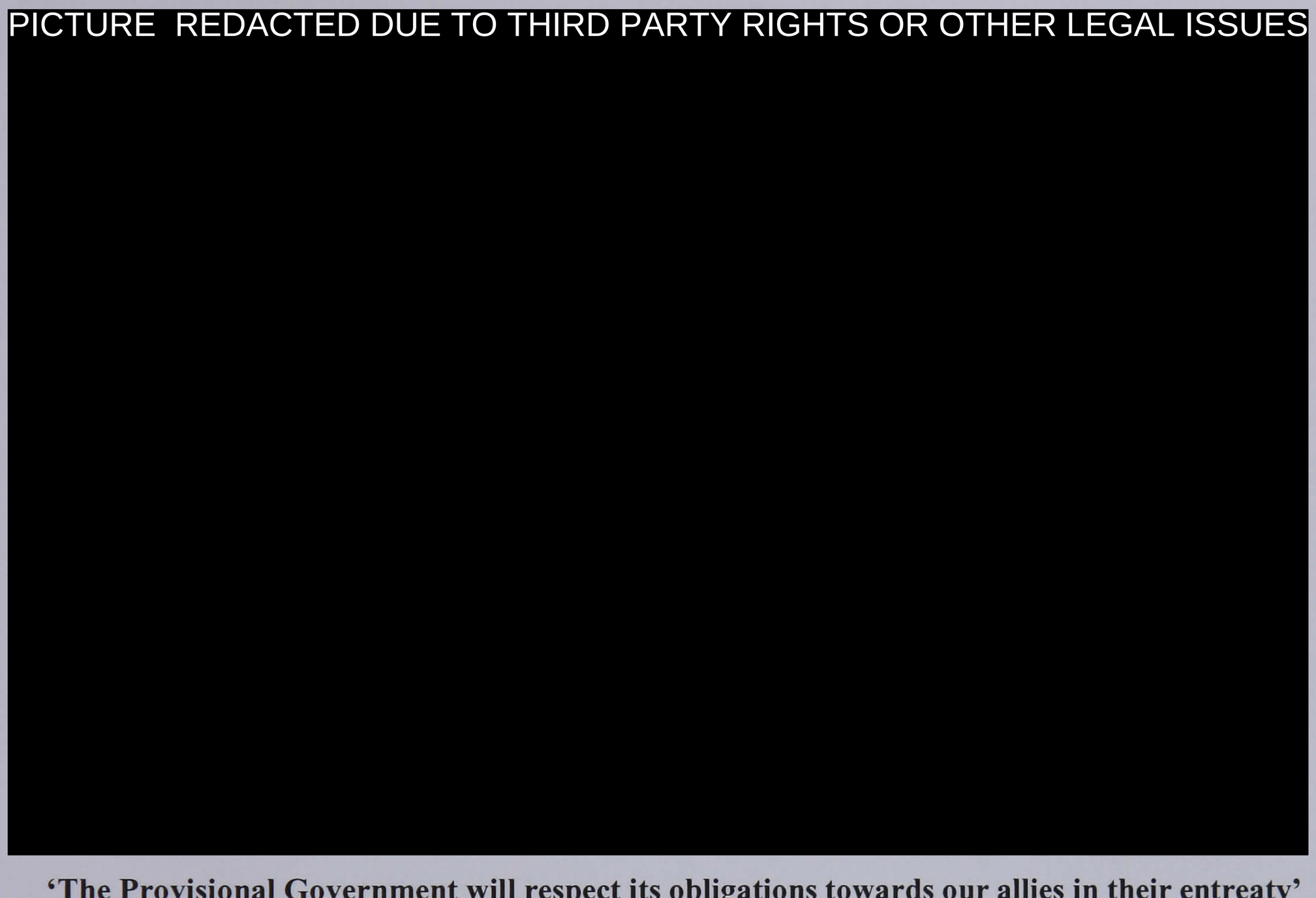
Abandoned rifles

Exchanging a fur hat for a helmet



‘An iron helmet for Ivan’s head, the fur hat for Hans’ head.’

Scene 3: The Provisional Government's decision to carry on the war

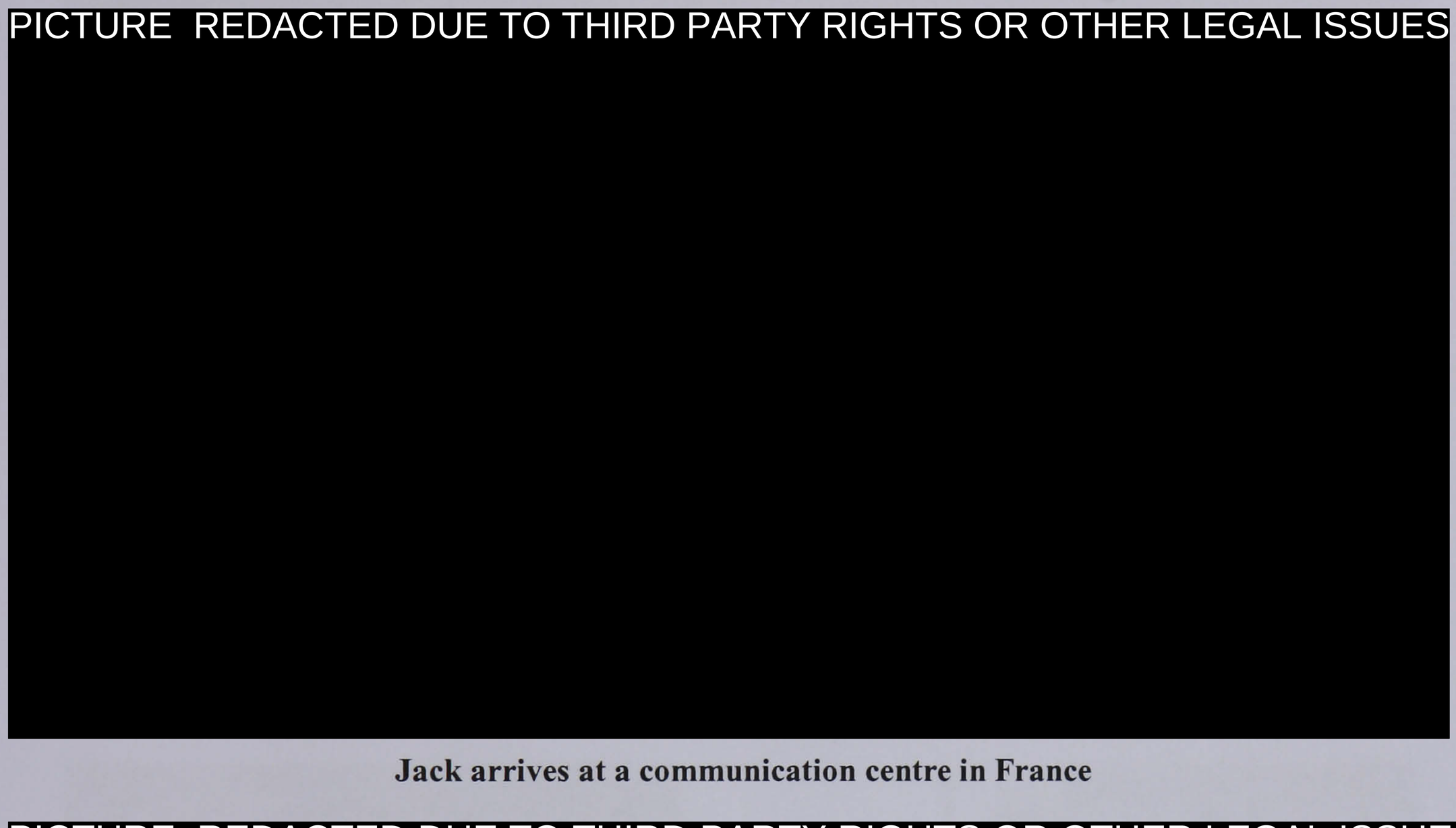


'The Provisional Government will respect its obligations towards our allies in their entreaty'

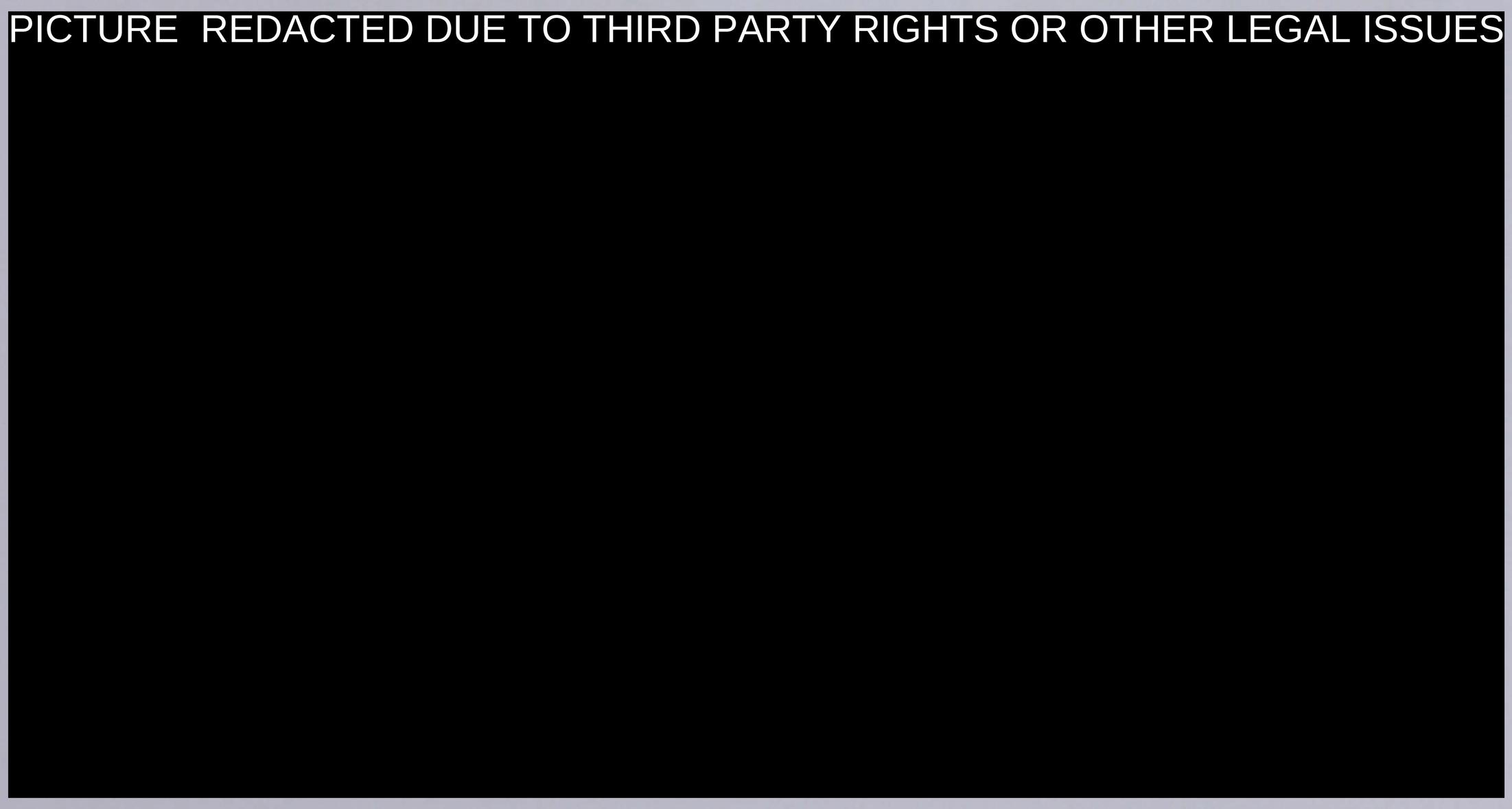
In contrast with the first pair of film clips, which was selected to explore students' approaches to the comparison task in a more open-ended way, the second pair of film clips was chosen, specifically to map out students' ideas about criteria for 'better' historical representations. As shown in *Reds* Segment 2 and *October* Segment 2, both films dealt with a similar theme: the Russian people's situation just before the October Revolution

Reds Segment 2 for the pilot study[12]: Jack and Louise witness the situation in Russia under the Provisional Government

Scene 1: Jack persuades Louise to go to Petrograd with him



Jack arrives at a communication centre in France



Jack: If you're trying to build up your reputation as a journalist, to be in the right place at the right time.

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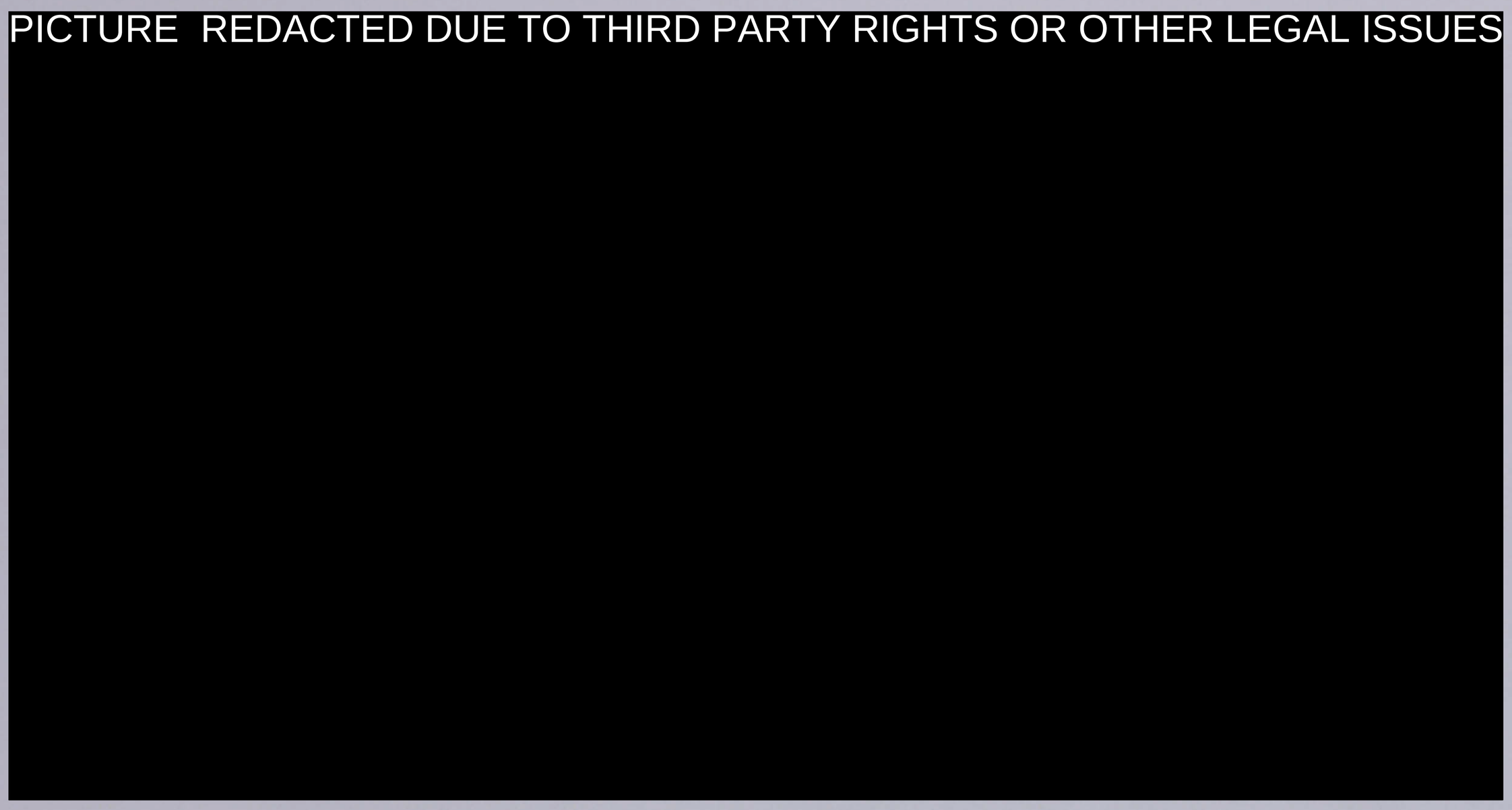
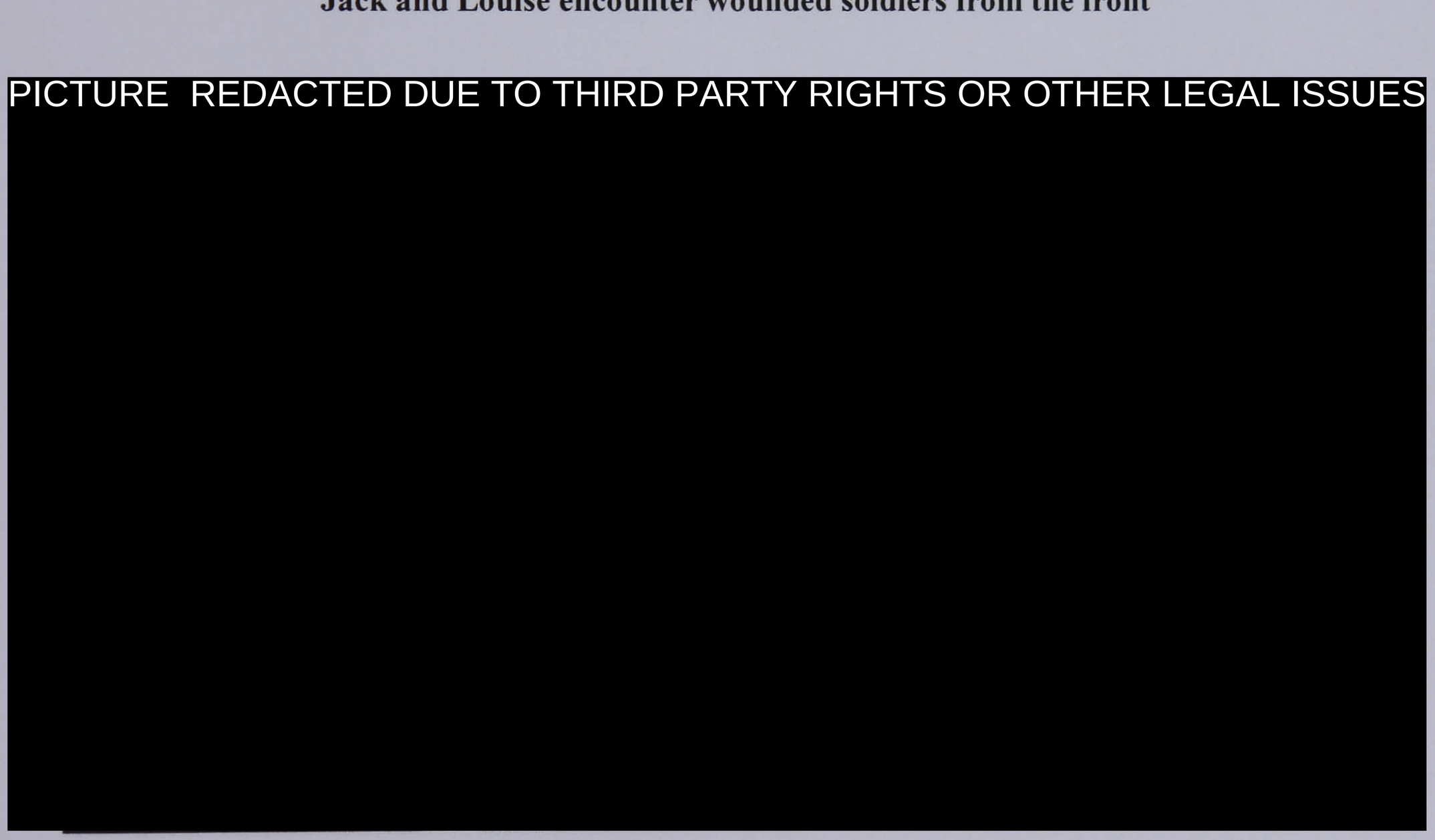
[12] This became Segment 1 in the main study. For the revisions of the task set, see p. 131

Scene 2: The train journey to Petrograd (the Russian border)



Jack and Louise encounter wounded soldiers from the front



Volsky: There are many Bolsheviks in the army. And the Bolsheviks will stop the war.

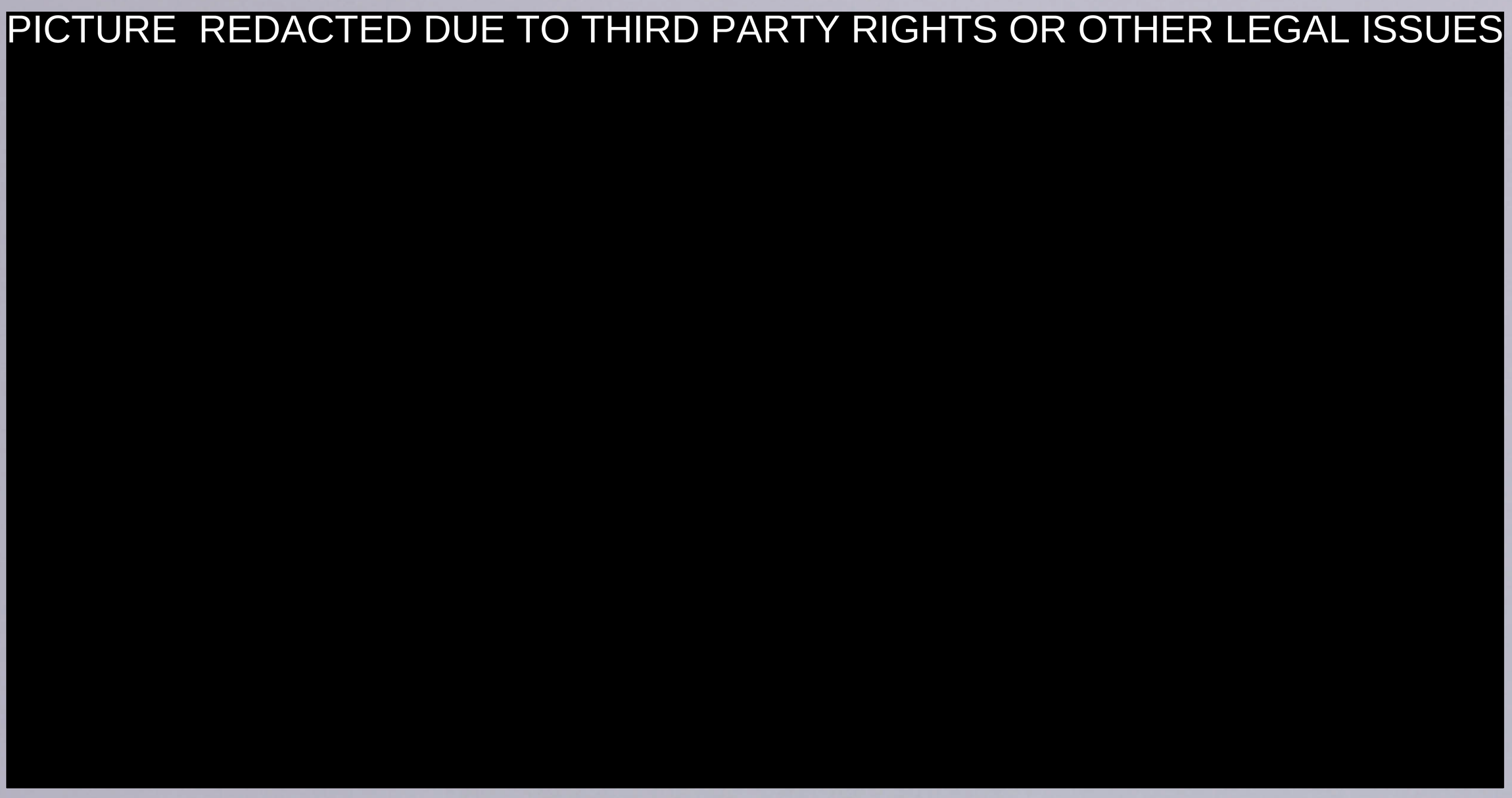
Scene 3: Arriving at Petrograd

PICTURE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

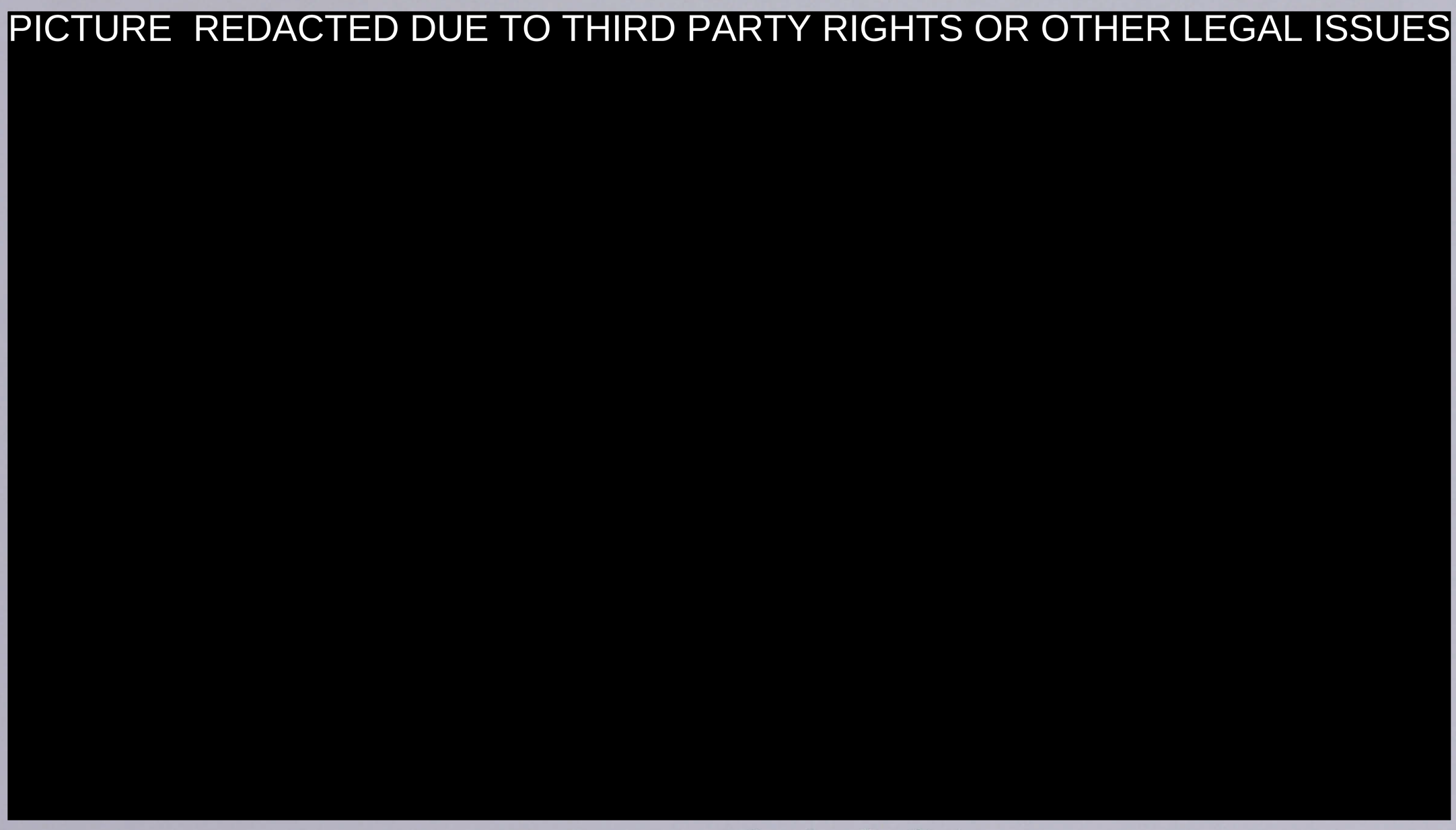
Alex greets Jack and Louise at Petrograd

A queue on the street witnessed by Jack and Louise

Scene 4: Reporting the political situation in Russia



Jack and Louise meet Lenin



A meeting room at Smolny Institute

Scene 5: Jack's speech at a workers' meeting at a factory building

'Tell them about your American workers.'

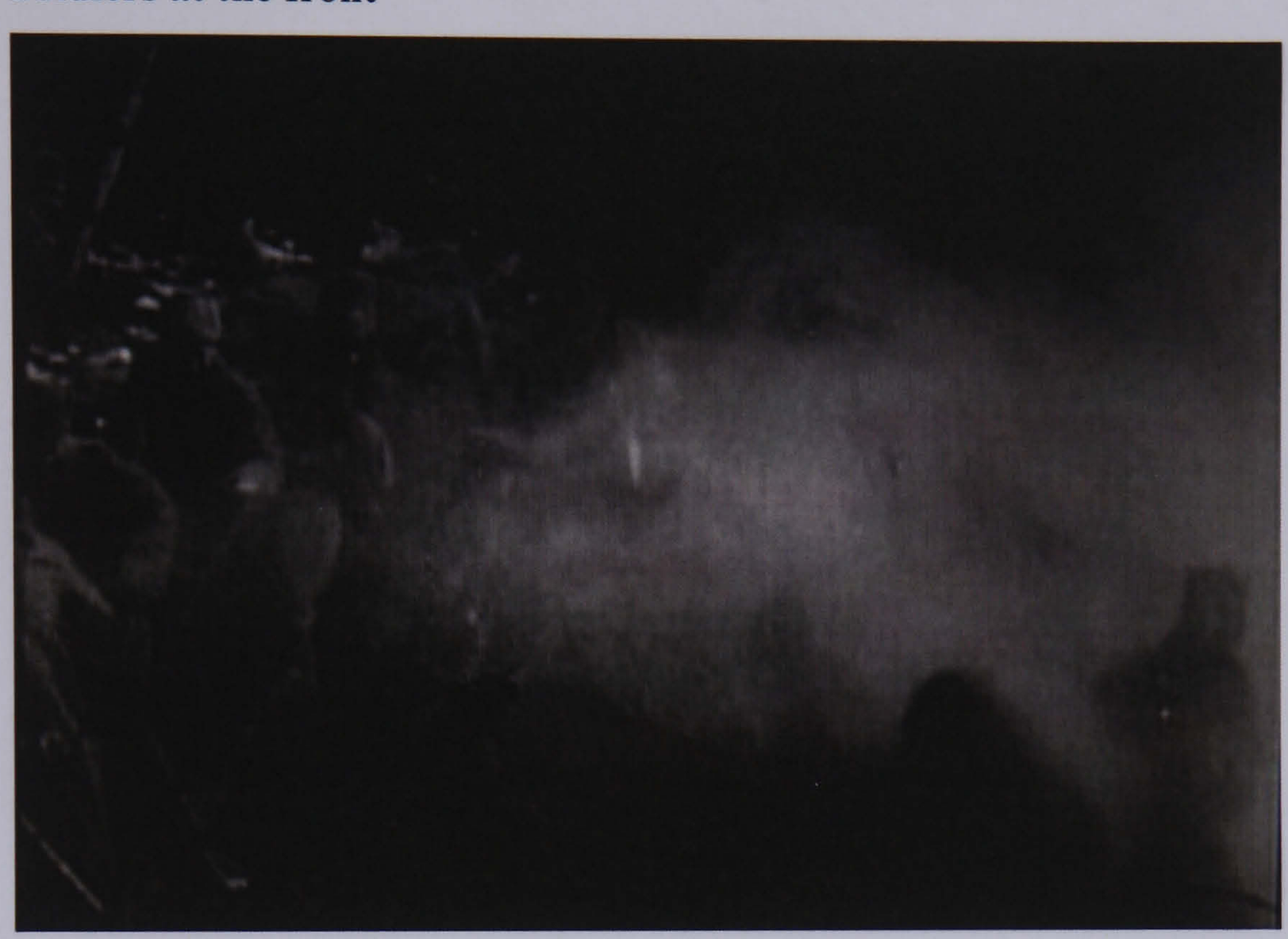
Jack: If workers of the world stand together, the war can be stopped. Long live revolutionary Russia!

Jack and Louise, in a truck with soldiers, hurl handfuls of pamphlets into the street

Jack and Louise feel closer to each other

October Segment 2 for the pilot study[13]: The fortnight of the October Revolution

Scene 1: Soldiers at the front



Soldiers running along a trench

Soldiers take a cover

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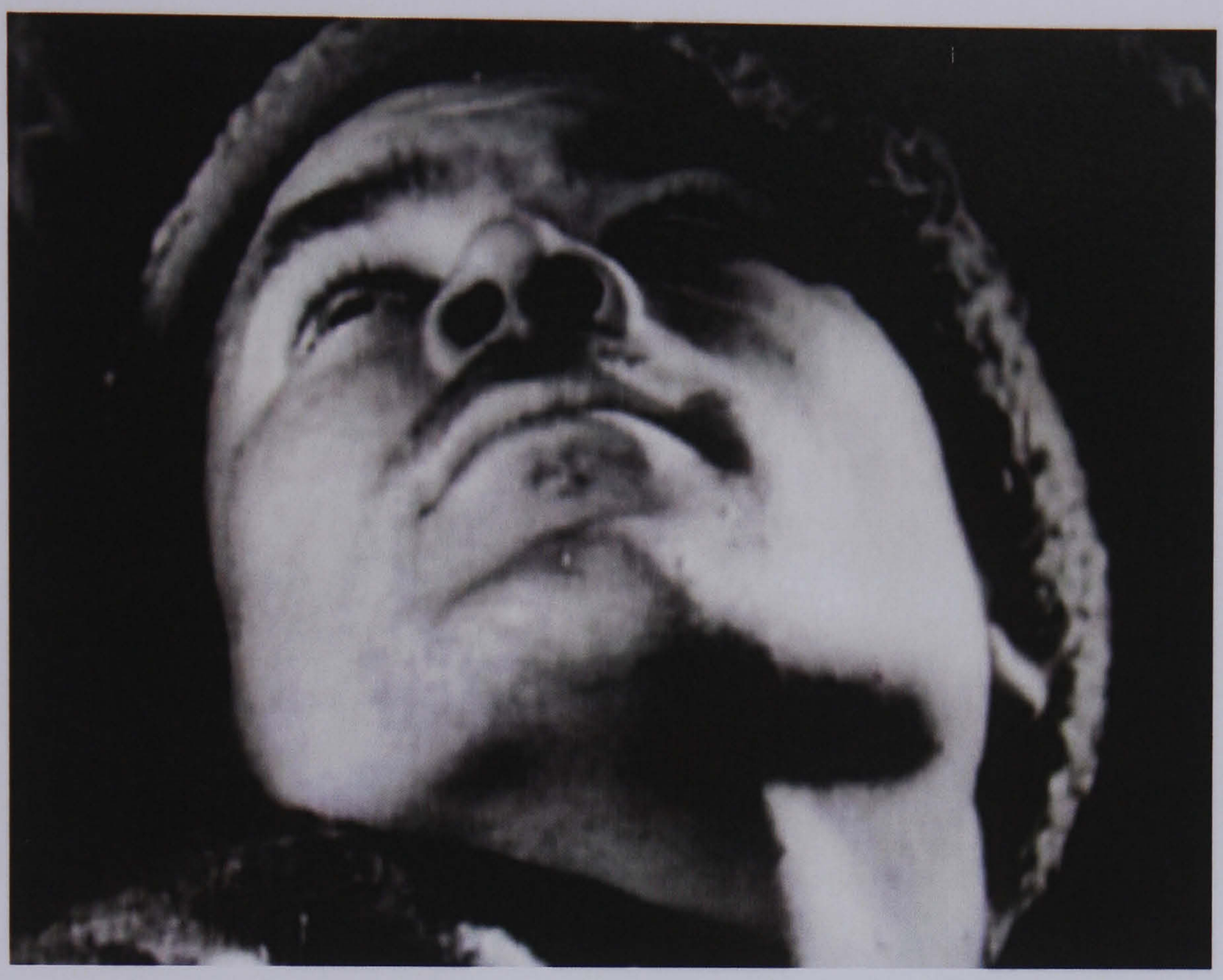
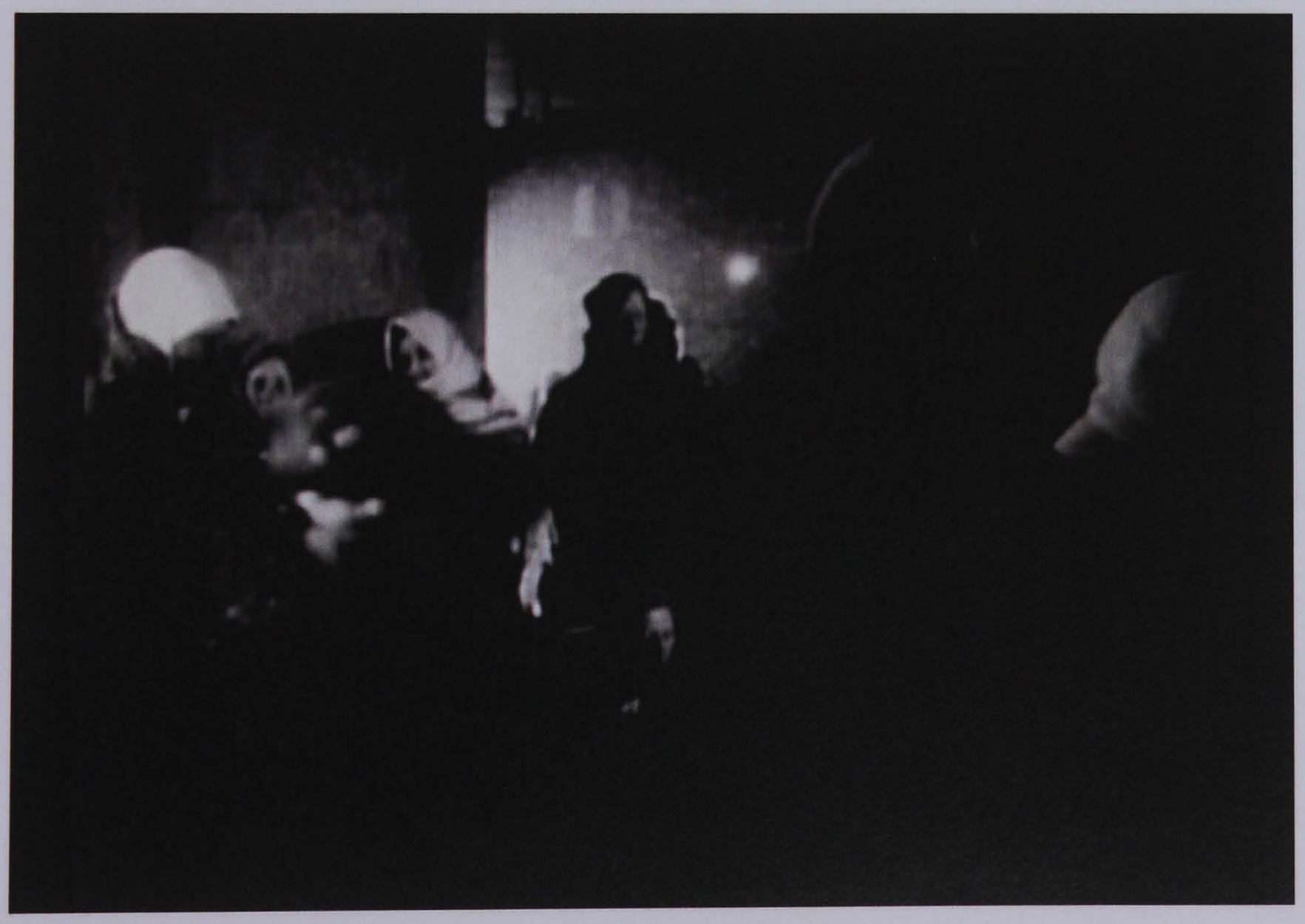
[13] This is Segment 1 of the main study.

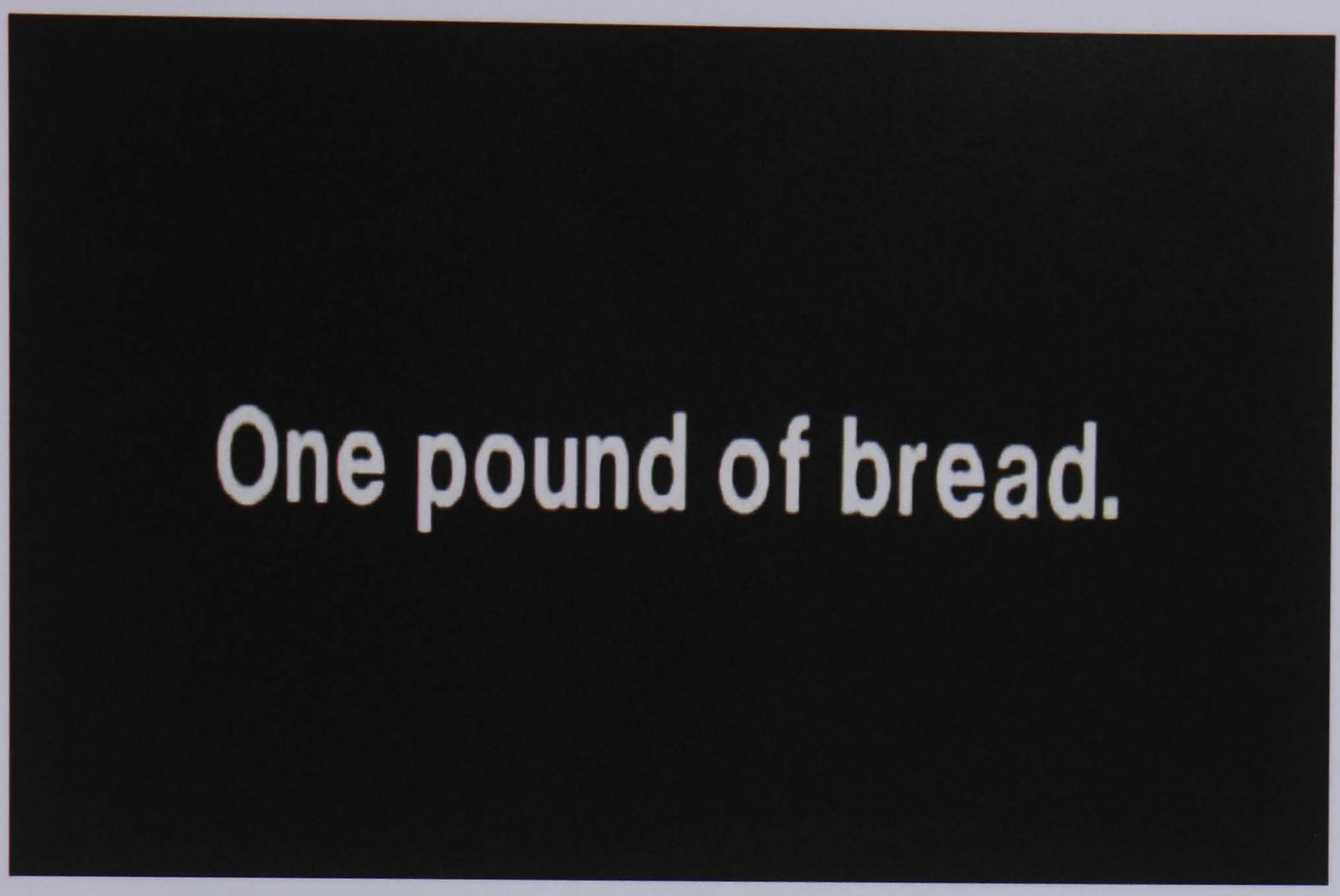


A close-up of a soldier in a trench

Scene 2: Deterioration of people's life

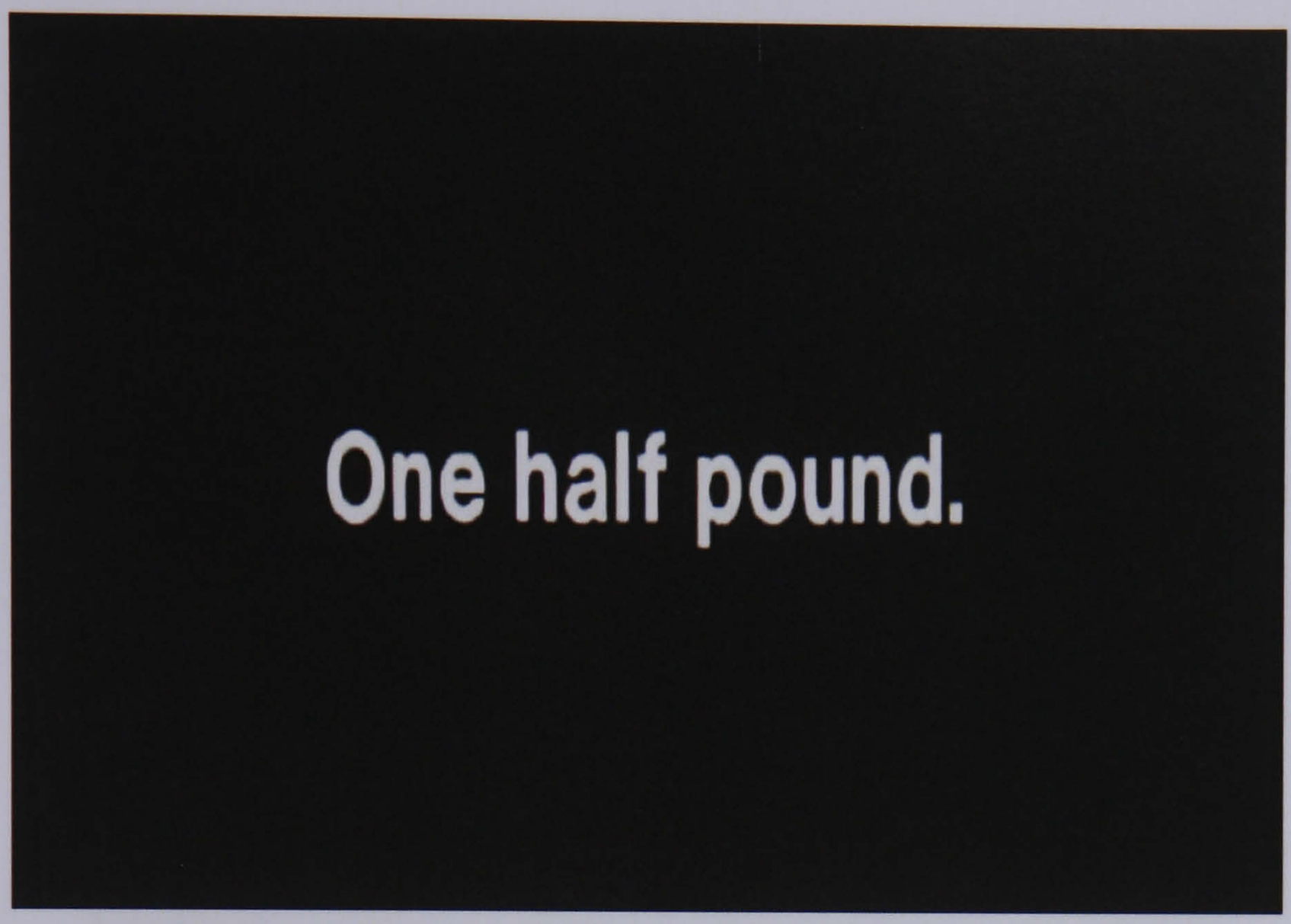


A long queue for ration



Rationing of food

A close-up of people's bare feet in the queue



Rations are cut

A severe shortage of food and other goods

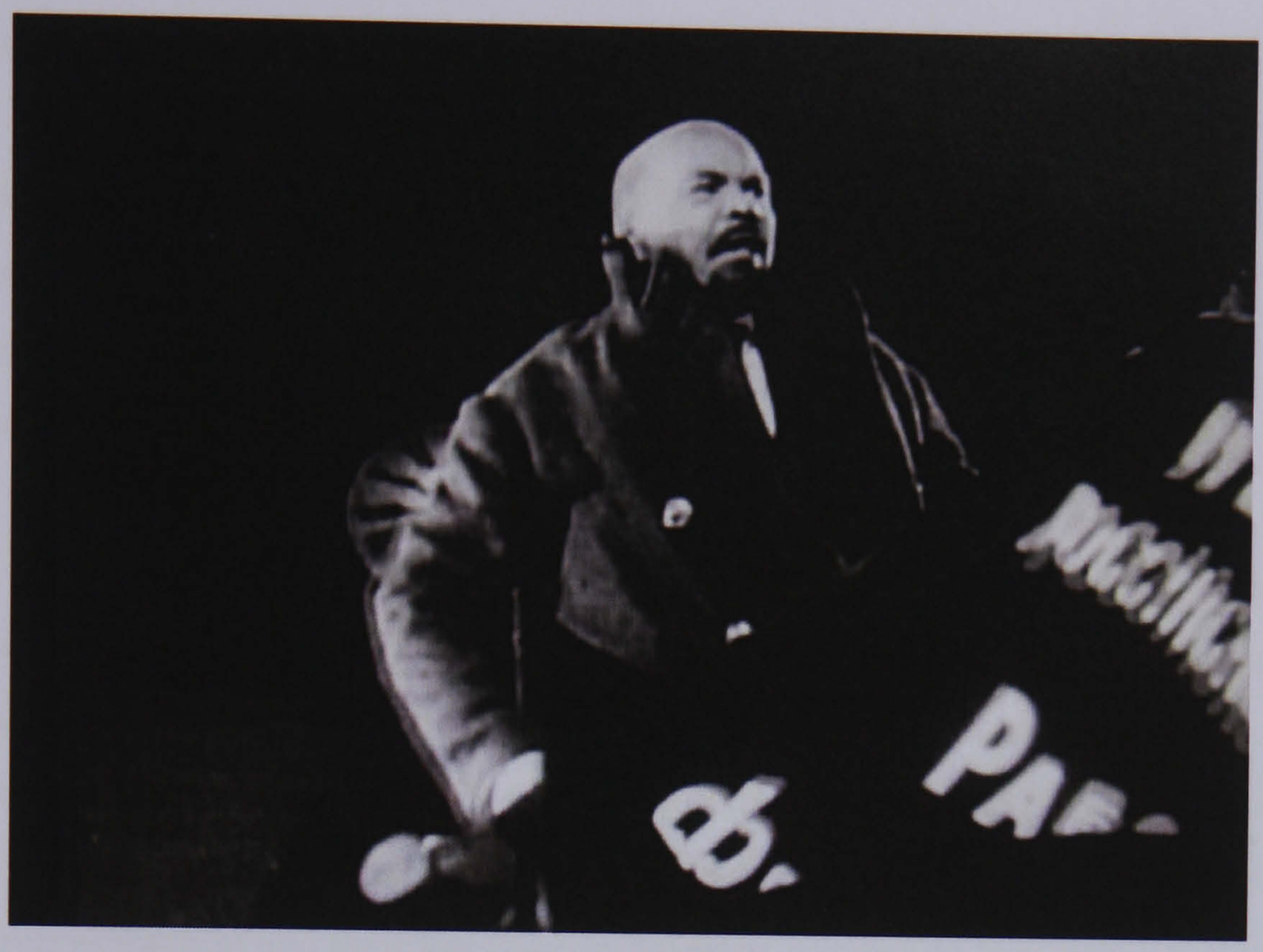
People collapsing, exhausted by cold and hunger

Scene 3: Lenin's arrival at the Finland Station

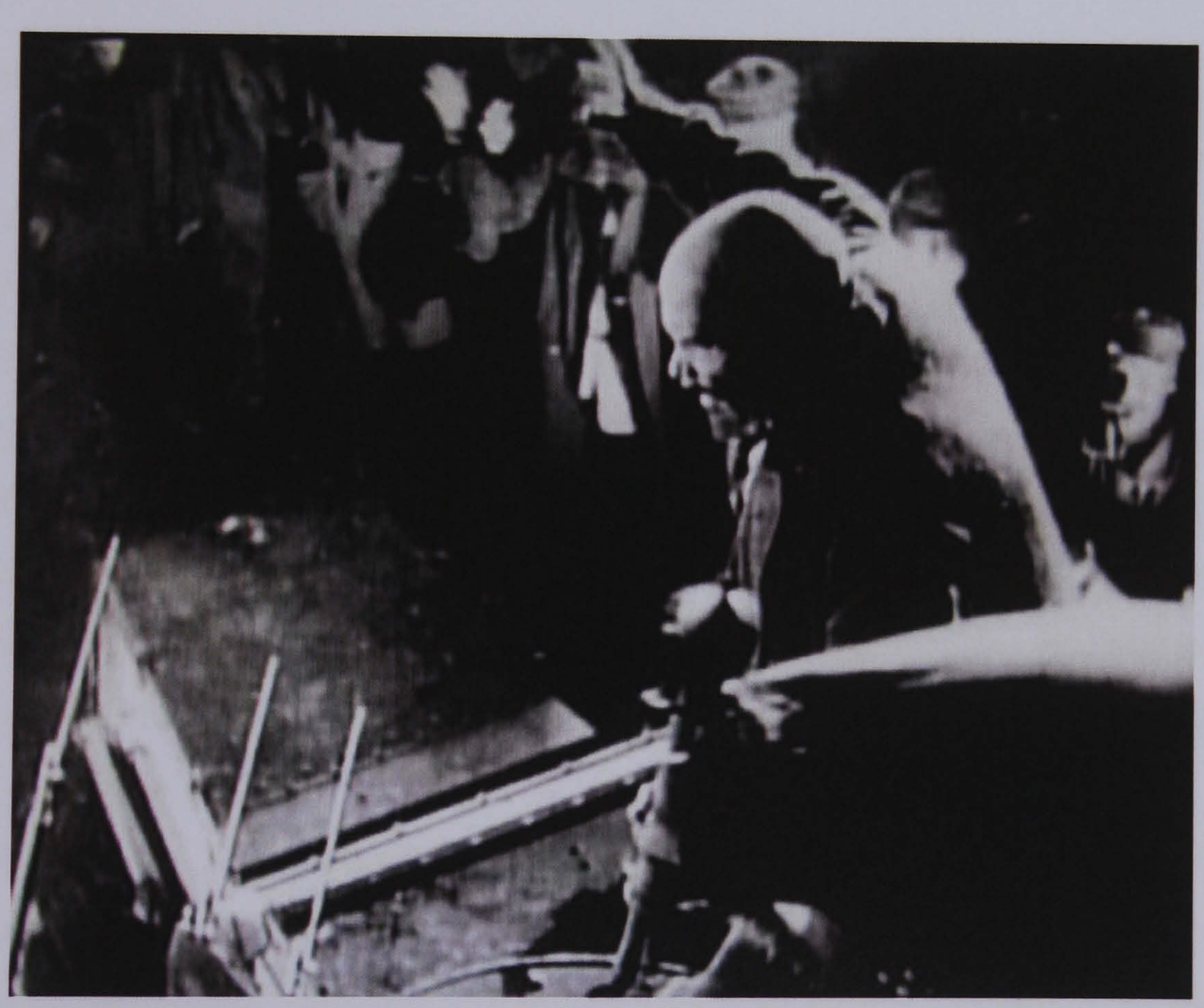
A crowd waiting for Lenin at the station

Lenin arrives at the station

A close-up of people's brightened faces; 'It's him!' 'Ulianov!" Lenin!'



Lenin gives a speech



'No support for the Provisional Government!' 'Long live the Socialist Revolution!' 'Socialist…not Bourgeois. Five months of Bourgeois government, No Peace, No Bread, No Land.'

The first follow-up question was the same as before in that it asked students to identify

similarities and differences between two films.

2-(a) Is there any difference between the two films?

- If the answer is 'No', what is the same? And how is this possible?
- If the answer is 'Yes', how do they differ? And how are such differences possible?

2-(b) Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened? Tell me why.

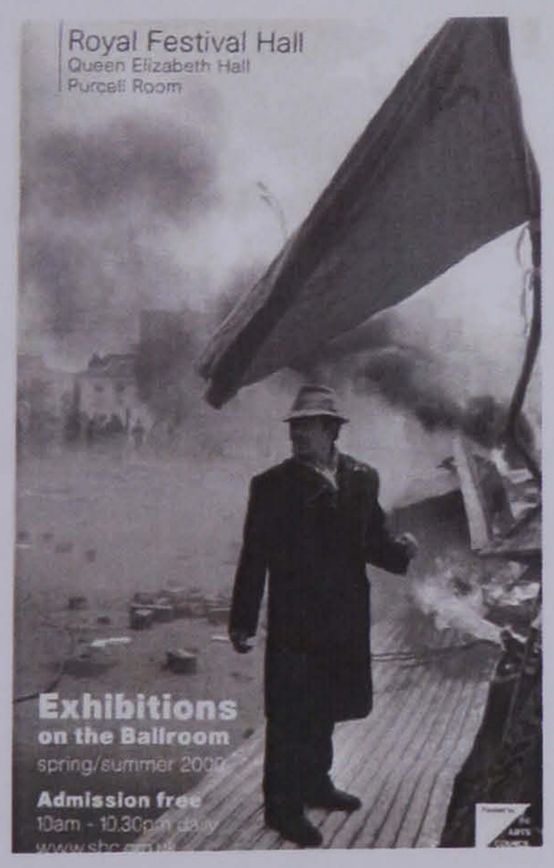
However, the second pair of film clips pursues the question of different representations about the same event in a more explicit way since the 'content' of the two film clips is similar. In other words, while the first pair of film clips remains as a text into which students' different interpretations could be read in a less restricted way, the second pair of film clips was selected for different reasons. In particular, they were chosen to explore a range of ways of historical representation and their knowledge claims as competing historical accounts

Background information about two films given out to students would frame the way they compared these particular film clips: especially, the issue of authorship such as state-commissioned project versus individual craft could come into force. To be fair, despite a seemingly 'party' history like appearance, *October* cannot be seen as Bolshevik propagandist film. As Rosenstone (2000: 59) points out, 'the film, in its overall argument, counters any party line notion that the Bolsheviks were the revolutionary vanguard' (Rosenstone, 2006: 59). What interested Eisenstein was rendering the period into, in Rosenstone's (2006: 59) phrase, 'the time when the masses entered into history and history entered into the masses' rather than molding Bolshevik leaders into heroic symbols. In fact, the Stalinist regime was not content with the fact that Soviet leaders were given less screen time than Kerensky.

In a similar fashion, *Reds* cannot be neatly fitted into the category of classic Hollywood historical drama. Of course, it could be said that the narrative in *Reds* unfolds in the form of an archetypal Hollywood plot: 'the film delivers a linear, closed and emotional story with a strong moral message' (Rosenstone, 2006: 106). However, *Reds* is not entirely fictional since it is based on the real life story of John Reed, whose eye-witness account, *Ten Days that Shook the World,* became one of the sources for *October*

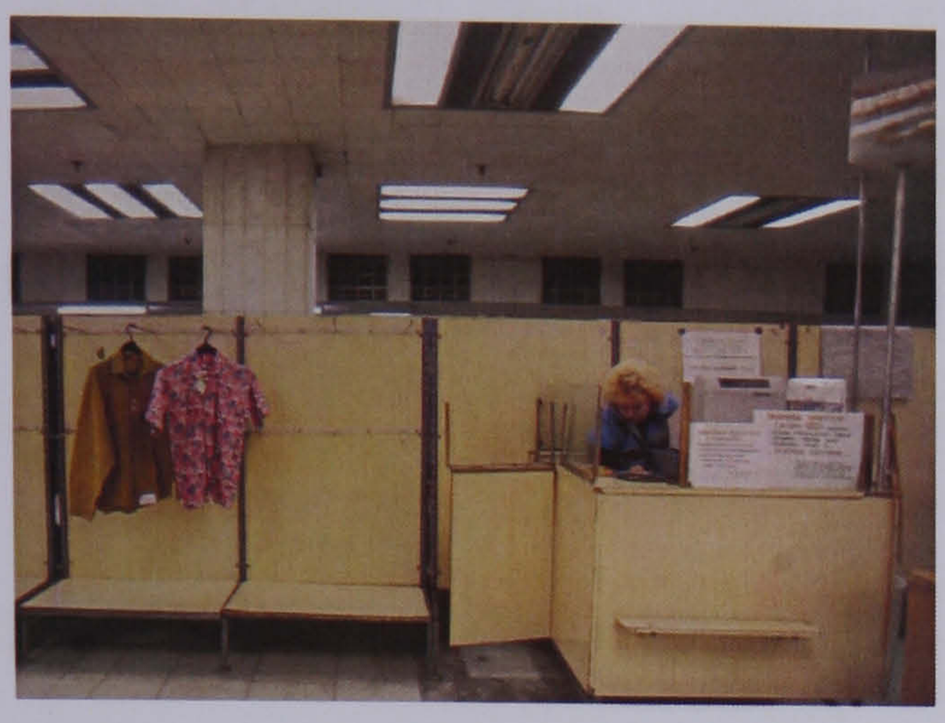
As shown in *Reds* Segment 2 and *October* Segment 2, the second pair of film clips tells the story of the fortnight of the October Revolution in a similar sequence: the resumption of hostilities on the front; the hardship endured by people, whose rations had been cut down, and growing discontent with the provisional government. Perhaps, one of the stark contrasts does lie in the style and tone of each segment. In *October*, historical moments are presented as if those scenes are part of footage from a film archive. In contrast, the scenes in *Reds* lack that primary-source-like quality. In addition to this, what differentiates the two segments from each other is the perspective from which the events are portrayed, raising the question of agency in the representation of history. In particular, the last scene in each film segment shows whose viewpoints were at work in representing the event. In *October*, the arrival of Lenin at the Finland station is portrayed as a turning point, a trigger for the mass mobilisation. In the case of *Reds*, the scene of mass assembly is concluded with Jack's speech about support for IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) in the U.S. and the triumphant march on the street.

Finally, in an attempt to investigate students' 'reading' of the relationship between past realities and present-day visual representation of the past, five photographs from Anthony Suau's exhibition, 'Beyond the Fall', which document contemporary Russia between 1989 and 1999, were chosen.

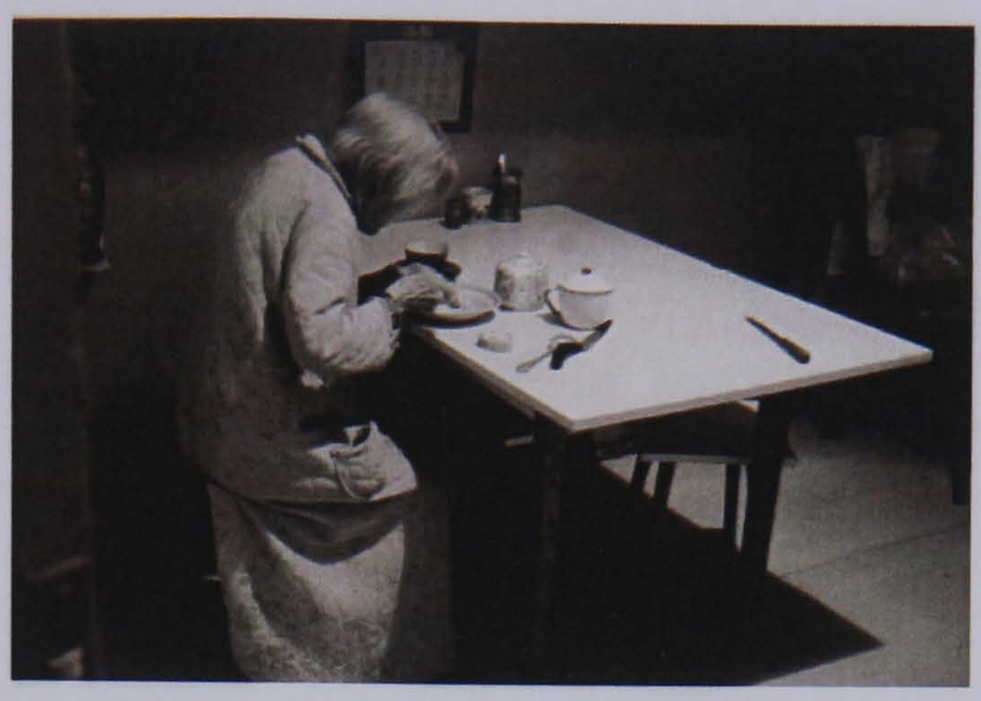


'Beyond the Fall: the Former Soviet Bloc in Transition 1988- 1999'

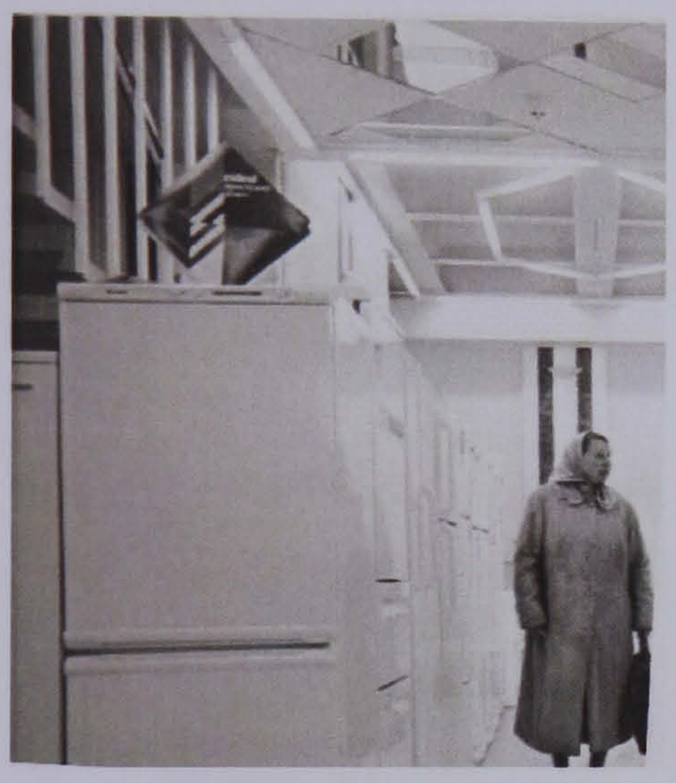
Picture L. Magnitogorsk, Russia, 1992,
The remains of a steel factory constructed in 1930s



Picture M. Moscow, Russia, 1992, 'Tsum' department store



Picture N. Moscow, Russia, 1992, Pensioner



Picture O. Moscow, Russia, 1996, New Western applicances store

Picture P. Moscow, Russia, 1998, Fashion party

In addition to this, other written sources, an excerpt from interview with Russian people in the 1990s and a historian's accounts after the fall of the USSR, were also selected (see Sources R-1 and R-2 on the following page).

• **Source R-1**

[the Revolution was] an attempt to improve life, which initially had worthwhile goals – freedom, equality, fraternity, but the result is a result that we have […] October was a struggle for equal rights, which then turned into a new form of inequality.

– An excerpt from interview with a 55-year-old woman working in finance in Moscow during 1992 and 1993, J.Wertsch and M. Rozin (1998) 'The Russian Revolution: Official and Unofficial Accounts' in J. Voss and M. Carretero, (eds.), *Learning and Reasoning in History: International Review of History Education Vol.2*, London: Woburn Press.

• **Source R-2**

What failed in the USSR was not Communism at all – and if it failed (which it obviously did) it was not because it betrayed the people. Communism, with its aspiration to truer democracy, is as susceptible to perversion as other visions. But it will remain with us because it also embodies some of our highest ideals.

– C. Jacobson (1998) 'So What Did Collapse in 1991?', in M.Cox (ed.), *Rethinking the Soviet Collapse: Sovietology, the Death of Communism and the New Russia*, London and New York: Pinter

The third pair of film clips used in the pilot study is as follows:

Reds **Segment 3 for the pilot study[14]: Jack's disillusionment with the Bolshevik rule.**

Scene 1: Jack's disappointment with Bolshevik leaders after meeting them

Jack watching the Red army marching past his window

[14] This is Segment 2 of the main study.

Scene 2: Jack's argument with Emma over the situation in Russia: aftermath of the October Revolution

'My understanding of revolution is not a continual extermination of political dissenters, and I want no part of it.'

'What do you think that things were gonna be? A revolution by consensus where we all sat down and agreed over a cup of coffee?'

Emma: Those four million people didn't die fighting a war. They died from a system that cannot work!
Jack: It's just beginning, E.G. [Emma Goldman]. It's not happening the way we thought it would. It's not happening the way we wanted it to, but it's happening.

October Segment 3 for the pilot study[15]: The Bolsheviks seize power

Scene 1: Preparations for overthrowing the Provisional Government

The Soviet 2nd congress

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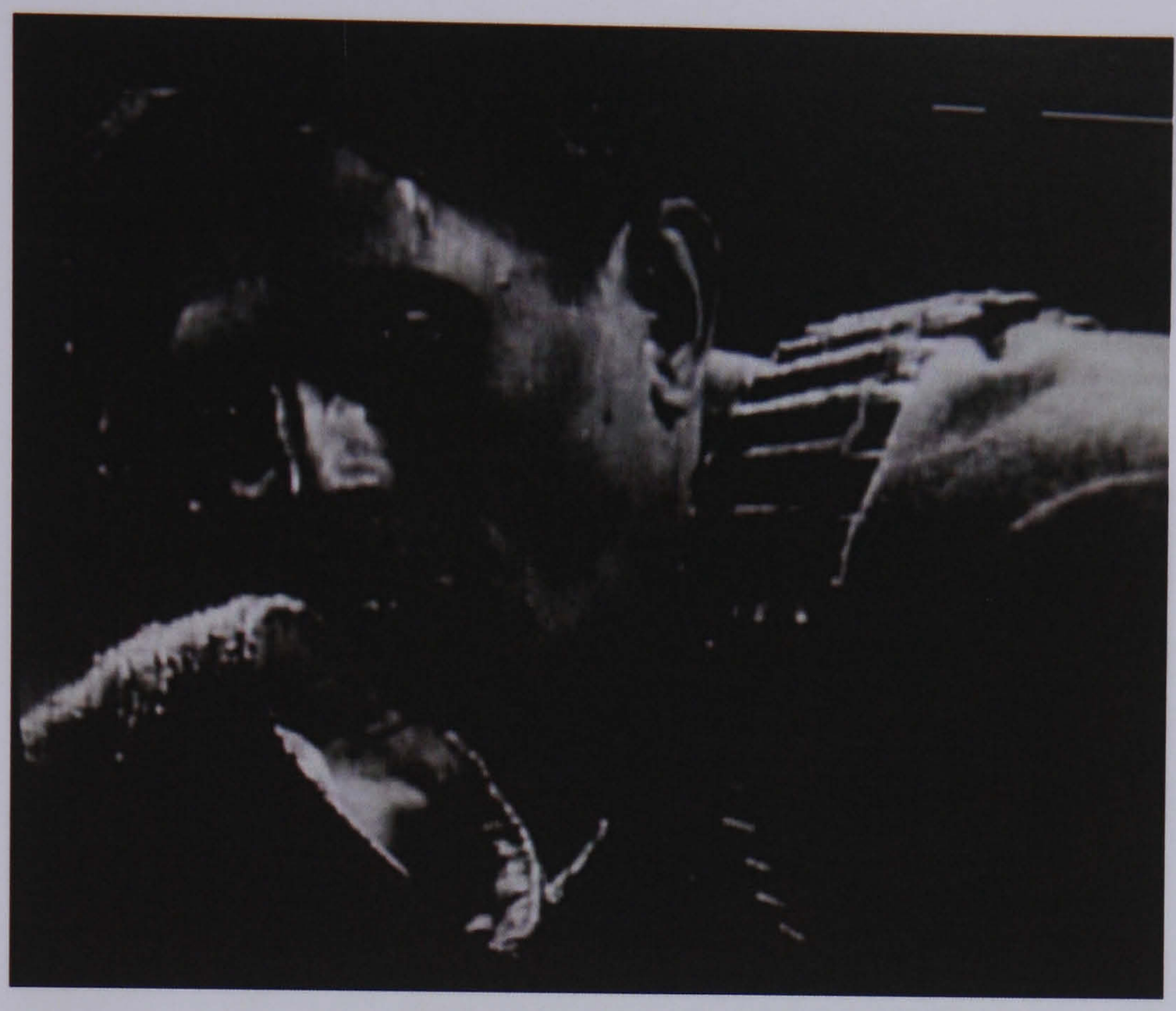
[15] This is Segment 2 of the main study.

‘Comrade! All those in the front are with the Bolsheviks!’

Scene 2: Storming the Winter Palace

People gathering in the square



A close-up of a dying soldier

A soldier climbs up the gate of the Winter Palace

‘Forward!’

The Red Guard units at the palace have moved into attack

A few guards defend the palace

The Red Guard breaks into the palace

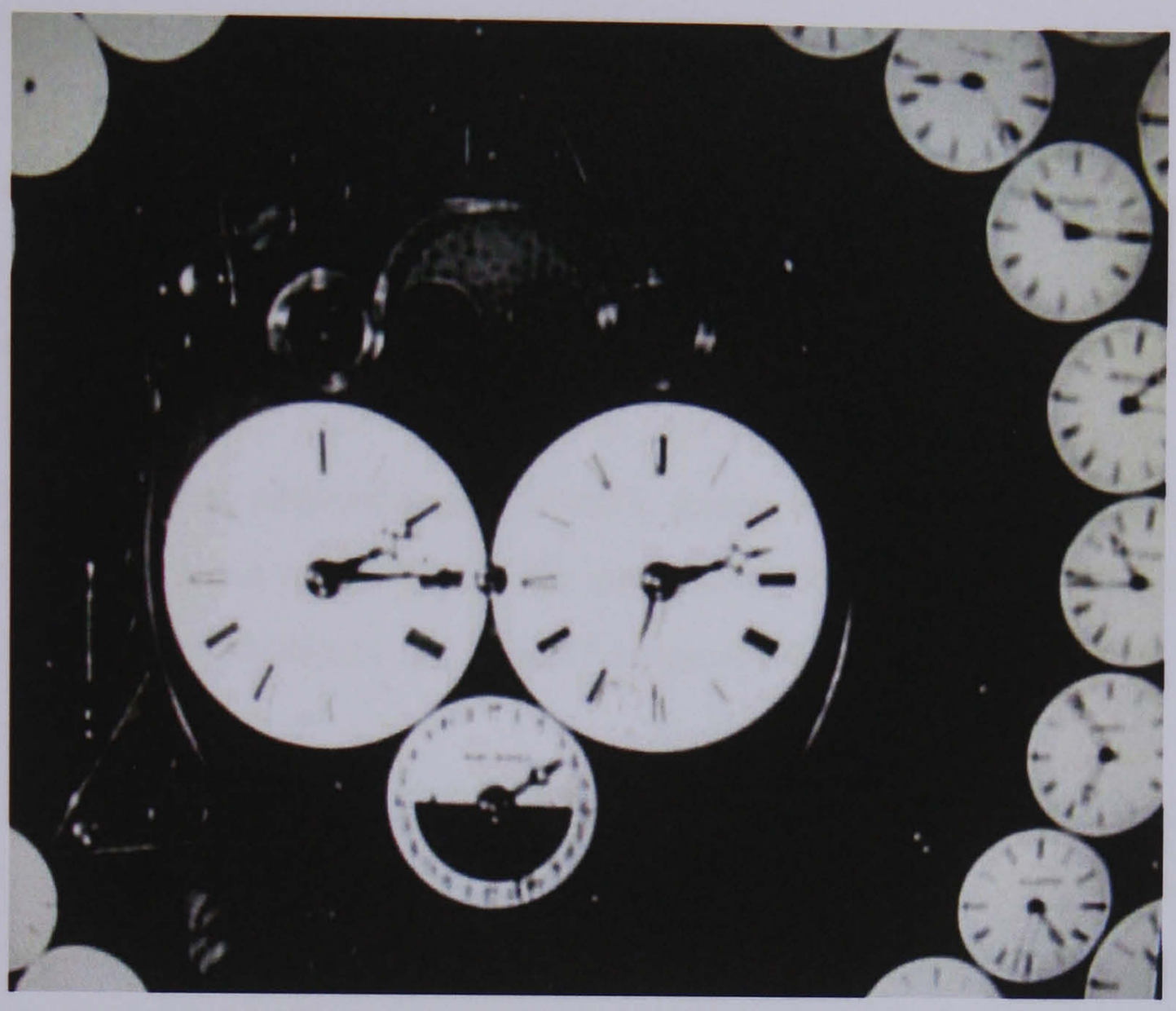
One of the guards of the palace, who looks overwhelmed by the sheer scale of the Red Guard

Scene 3: The declaration of the Proletarian Socialist state

Lenin mounts the platform

'The workers' and peasants' revolution has been accomplished! Long live the international Socialist Revolution!'

Applause bursts out like gunfire



Showing the clocks in different cities such as Petrograd, Moscow, New York...October 25th

The questions, which intend to identify students' assumptions about the historical dimensions of contemporary value systems, were constructed and posed as follows:

3-(a) If the directors had experienced the collapse of the USSR like the Russian citizen in Source 1 and the historian in Source 2[16], would they have made the films in a different way?

- If the answer is 'No', then why not?
- If the answer is 'Yes', then in what ways?

3-(b) If the directors had chosen to shoot the film differently, what might have affected their decisions?

As shown in *Reds* Segment 3 and *October* Segment 3, while the scenes in *October* show the culmination of the Revolution, such as the fall of the Winter Palace and the declaration of ultimate victory for proletariat, those in *Reds* suggest a doomed future for the young regime. In particular, his former comrade anarchist Emma Goldman's fury over the Bolshevik's

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[16] For written sources R-1 and R-2, see p.101.

monopoly of power and Jack's rather weak response to the criticism can be interpreted as a premonition of the collapse of the USSR in 1991 (for the conversation between Jack and Emma, see Appendix G. Film script).

In fact, the scene selected in this study did not make it explicit whether John Reed was disillusioned by the new regime – in real life, despite some disputes over the trade union issue with the Communist International, he continued to support the Communist movement (Newsinger, 1998: XXVII). Jack was aware of deteriorating conditions in the aftermath of the Revolution. However, responding to Emma's attack on the Bolsheviks, though showing a concern for the new born revolution of the proletariat, Jack blamed the White armies and their imperialist backers' blockade for the sufferings of the people.

As seen in written sources R-1 and R-2, the post-Soviet evaluation of the October Revolution considers both how the revolution shaped people's life in Russia and its historical significance. In this respect, both sources raise the issue of retrospective historical significance. In Rüsen's (2005: 66) phrase, 'By "retrospectivity", the approach to empirical evidence of the past is influenced by projections of the future which tend to transgress the horizon of expectation of the past.' On the other hand, despite belonging to the same post-Soviet era, the two sources chosen for this task voice different views about the significance of the revolution. Therefore, comparing two films followed by encountering contrasting 'postmortem' interpretations of the October Revolution can serves two purposes: making sense of the constitutive relationship between the past and present in terms of the configuration of the events in question, while coming to terms with different historical accounts about the same event.

In considering the question of changing historical representation, it was expected that students' answers could bring to the fore differences between the two films in terms of the production period and time coverage within a film. For instance, *October* was made in the period in which the USSR established itself as 'the ultimate political expression of the popular will' (Reed, 1918, quoted in Newsinger, 1998: 113). In stark contrast, *Reds* belongs to the 1980s, witnessing the evolution of the USSR towards the Great Terror of Stalinism and the gradual decline of Communism. In view of the time scale, while *October* ended with

the promise of a bright future, *Reds* dealt with the turmoil in 1919 and 1920, covering the conflict and hardship under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. Furthermore, the challenge here is that this task involves the question of the hypothetical past in that both films were made based on historical experience that does not contain the collapse of the USSR.

In this section, the characteristics of the films employed in this study have been outlined, thereby elaborating the relationship between interview questions and particular film clips. The rationale for the selection of film segments is closely linked to the central research questions: how do students interpret the way the past is configured, and on what basis do students establish criteria for 'better' historical representations? In the following section, a preliminary analysis of students' responses to the task will be provided.

4.4. Analysis of data and exploratory findings

The method used for data analysis was based on 'grounded theory' (Straus and Corbin, 1990). The coding process was inductive in that the researcher tried to look for a frame through which students had interpreted given sources. This pilot study set out to produce the categories with two sets of responses drawn from different age groups: thirteen-year olds (middle school: lower secondary) and fifteen to seventeen-year olds (high school: upper secondary). By doing so, a range of categories emerged, though with a few overlaps between the categories. This was followed by further examination of more sets of responses, including a process in which the categories used were constantly assessed. For instance, factors as determinants of better representation of the past [Question 2-(b)] were constructed on the basis of the responses, which mainly compared the two films in terms of genre. However, where the response reflected different sets of ideas, which did not fit into existing criteria, new categories such as 'testimony' and 'partisanship' were added.

Even though the researcher tried to identify considerations taken into account by the students, the criteria deployed to generate her readings of the data were influenced by the purpose of the research, her background knowledge of the students, and the theory she had assimilated.

Moreover, the context of the interview and students' understanding of its purpose might also have shaped their responses; for example, the responses of adolescents from the Youth Centre revealed different aspects from those of formal schools, showing less interest in providing 'right' answers.

4.4.1. Accounting for comparisons of two films

This section explores students' responses to two questions: **2-(a) Is there any difference between the two films; 2-(b) Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened? Tell me why.** While the former intended to explore students' approaches to different forms of representation, the latter pursued this question further in that it aimed to understand students' ideas about components of authenticity, such as reality and credibility. The following chart exemplifies representative[17] responses to question **2-(a) Is there any difference between the two films?**

Figure 4.4.1.(a) Differences between the two films

Direct/indirect presentation of the event 'While the first one [*Reds*] describes what happened through the reporter's eyes, the second one [*October*] directly shows what was going on.' (So-Yeon, F.13) 'In the case of *Reds*, I feel as if I was seeing things from a distance. But, *October* made me feel as if I was there, watching the action at that time and place.' (Hyo-Joon, M.15)
Collective/individual perspective '*Reds* was shot from Jack's point of view, you know, Jack and Louis's story. In contrast, *October* is mainly about the society.' (Se-Hyeon, M.16) 'It [*October*] follows what soldiers do. On the other hand, in the colour film [*Reds*], there is one main character, who guides us through story, like, the story changes, like, dependent on which perspective he takes.' (Yong-Joo, M 13)
Social reportage versus drama (genre) 'I think the colour film [*Reds*] is mainly about Jack, like a drama about a person. To me, the black and white film [*October*] looks like a real war news reel.' (Jeong-Hwa, F.13) 'It [*Reds*] is all about Jack. But, *October* shows a real situation, summarising key points in the war.' (Yi-Sak, F.13)

[17] Students quoted here and in the following figures illustrate exemplary responses to show a range of students' ideas. Given the small number of participants in the pilot study, charting the number of students who fell into each category was not undertaken. Students' sex and age are included in round brackets. Words in bold print in each response denote indicators for coding.

Partisanship versus neutrality '*October* tends to highlight the necessity of revolution a lot. Compared to *October*, *Reds* seems to be more neutral.' (Sang-Duk, M.15) 'The film [*October*] seems to make me feel obliged to think in a certain way.' (Dong-Seok, M.15)
Propaganda versus entertainment (social function) 'While I was watching *October*, I felt as if I were watching a weird propaganda film.' (Joon-Won, M.16) 'There must be some fictional parts, which are made up to attract audience, especially the part, which describes what's going on between Jack and Louise.' (Yi-Soo, F.17)

As seen above, students tended to express differences between the two films in terms of genre, pointing out some elements of a documentary or a drama in each film. Even though neither film shown is a documentary, students seem to identify some documentary features in *October*, pointing out its straightforward presentation, collective perspective, and social dimension. In contrast, *Reds* seems to be seen as an individual project, which is less burdened by social context. In addition, some students tended to regard the role of reporter as being that of a neutral observer as is suggested by the example of a common type of response given below:

> Keong-Seok (M.17): To me, *Reds* seems to **simply describe** what's happening in Russia, like **reporting through the two characters' eyes**. *October* seems to be shot, explicitly **in the mood for welcoming** the Revolution, I think.
> Yeon-Joong (F.16): In the former [*Reds*], the two persons **didn't get involved**…
>
> (High School B, Year 2)

Considering that the production background has been mentioned, it is not surprising to see a range of responses that elicited the difference in terms of origin and authorship:

> Yoo-Seung (M.16): 'Cos the leaders are different. It's a lot to do with **how to lead people.**
> Int.: You mean, the person, who is in power at that time? Or, …
> Yoo-Seung: Like Lenin. A film is made under control, like, following the leader's idea.
> […]

Sang-Duk (M.15): Let me ask something. When was *October* made? Ten years after the Revolution?

Int.: That's right. To celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Revolution.

Sang-Duk: That's why … You know, *October* doesn't show any evaluation of the Revolution, like, something goes wrong. It seems to **be biased**. Nowadays, after going through all the hardship, people began to see things in a **more neutral way.**

Int.: You mean, because *Reds* was made much later than *October*…

Sang-Duk: *Reds* is more neutral than *October*.

(High School A, Year 1)

In particular, the status of *October* as a government commissioned film seems to lead students to regard it as a being partisan ['The director might be under pressure from the government' (Se-Hyeon, M.16)]. Furthermore, taking into account the factor of an intended audience, students viewed *October* as an ideologically coloured version of the past ['It might intend to boost people's spirits, like, highlighting the bright side of the revolution rather than providing the facts' (Dong-Seok, M.15)].

Arguably, while the generic factors such as style and tone rarely bring judgmental statements about the true status of films, those of origin such as author and period tend to be associated with questions of 'objectivity'.

The following chart illustrates representative responses to question **2-(b) Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened? Tell me why.**

Figure 4.4.1.(b) Factors that determine a better representation of the past

The reasons for choosing *October*
Factual record, collective perspective 'The process of the Revolution is more detailed in *October* than in *Reds.*' (Mee-Joo, F.15) '*October* shows how the revolution came into being, showing structural factors.' (Yoo-Seung, M.16) 'In the colour film, the main characters have taken up the most space. In the case of the black and white films, it's mainly about the terrible war [...] You can remember how horrible it is to live in wartime by watching the wounded soldier and hungry people.' (So-Yang, F.16)
Eye-witness account, less speculation 'It [*Reds*] is made long after the Revolution. Accordingly, it is based on less evidence, involving loads of guess work rather than showing the facts.' (So-Yang, F.13). '[in *October*, there is] a sort of fresh memory about the event. What I mean is those people who had been there were still alive, witnessing what really happened at that time.' (Se-Hyeon, M.16).
Graphic visualisation 'I think the black and white film is more able to show how desperate the people were at that time, like, a piece of mime. You know, though there isn't any line, you can feel more. In a way, it rings true.' (Joon-Won, M.16) 'The second one [*October*] is far more realistic, I mean, a soundless film seems to look more authentic.' (Yeon-Joong, F.16)

The reasons for choosing *Reds*
Fictional elements/personal flavour '*Reds* focuses on a story between a man and a woman. At the same time, the personal story is expanding its scope, bringing a social dimension into it.' (Sang-Duk, M.15) 'The black and white film seems to be too formal. The colour one could be more inviting because at least we can follow a story.' (Yi-Seo, F.17)
More investigation/hindsight 'In the past, technology was less developed. Moreover, as time goes on, more investigation has been undertaken. I mean, the more we know, the better we can present.' (So-Yeon, F.13) 'As the colour film was shot much later, already knowing how the Revolution ended, it could tell a story in a more objective way, I guess.' (Dong-Seok, M.15)
Multiple points of view / less partisanship '[In *Reds*] there is a room for dealing with other viewpoints such as liberalism and Capitalism, like comparing those ideas with socialism. In contrast, *October* does take only one side, socialism.' (Keong-Seok, M.17) 'The latter [*October*] seems to focus on a certain party, crossing out the other side. I mean, if the films were shot from the view of provisional government, it would be a totally different film.' (Kyeong-Han, M.16)

Naturally enough, there is an overlap between the question 2-(a) and question 2-(b) responses; for example, seeking an answer for a better film to make sense of the Russian Revolution, students again draw a documentary/feature category such as 'factual versus

constructive' and 'collective versus individual'. However, for some students, the dividing line between fictional and non-fictional representations, and their respective relationships to social reality is not as clear-cut as it might appear to be. In other words, for some students, a feature-like film does not necessarily mean a mere imaginary construct:

> Sang-Duk (M.15): […] *October* has no dialogue, […] just picking up the facts and summarising the effects […] *Reds* is better to get to grips with an overall picture of that time.
> […]
> Sang-Duk: […] It [*October*] **looks like a real documentary**. People might get bored, switching off soonish, I guess.
> Mee-Joo: Why? To me, *October* is more exciting.
> Sang-Duk: […] Let me give you an example. When you read novels, I like reading novels, you'll find there are several types, like a dry description from the third person and a story from the characters' point of view. *Reds* is focusing on a story between a man and a woman. At the same time, **the personal story** is expanding its scope, bringing **social dimensions** into it. In a word, *Reds* is **typical fiction**.
>
> (High School A, Year1)

This response acknowledges the explanatory power of feature films. It contrasts the 'dry' description of *October* with the 'rich' plot of *Reds*. In a similar fashion, for some students *Reds* is regarded as a more accessible vehicle ['When you report a significant event, it is more eye catching to begin with telling a story, appealing to ordinary audience' (A-In, F.21); 'the colour one could be more inviting because at least we can follow a story' (Yi-Seo, F.17)].

While *Reds* is chosen based on its narrative elements, *October* is selected based on its visual components:

> To me, the black and white film is more touching. Particularly, the scene in which people are too exhausted to stand up for queuing at the end. At the same time, it **presents us about how rations got cut,** like from an half to a quarter,

something like that (So-Yang, F.16).

The strong images of *October* are appealing. That's why it [*October*] is easy to understand (Mee-Joo, F.15).

Paradoxically, for the very same reason, a criticism was levelled at *October*:

> You remember, the scene, which shows the reduction of rations, like, one was reduced to an half, and an half became a quarter, etcetera. **The images provoke much more sympathy** than mere verbal explanations do. If you see things in a sympathetic way, **you can't see exactly what they are**. Considering that, *Reds* is better (Sang-Duk, M.15).

In a similar vein, some responses pointed out the danger of the manipulative nature of strong images:

> A-In (F.21): You know, different images are all put together in that part. That's why it **looks a bit artificial**. For example, the cut of a rising soldier was inserted between the scene of the falling statue and the scene of the sickles. All of those things didn't happen at the same time. He **[a director] edited it in that way, intending to show** who was supporting the Revolution, which led into getting rid of the emperor, like, to show the fact that farmers were on that side, the sickle scene was included. And, this is also the case with soldiers. As the **director's message is too direct**, I felt rather uneasy.
>
> Int.: Don't you think a director is entitled to create a scene, leading the audience to see things the way he does?
>
> Yi-Seo (F.17): From an audience's point of view, it went over the top. I mean, it went a bit too far. You know, the scene is full of arms such as guns and sickles. I should admit that the images are very, very strong, still lingering in front of my eyes. But, there is **no breathing space for thought**.
>
> (Youth Centre F)

These responses indicate an awareness that forms of representation suggest strategies of conceptualisation, or better still, contain implicit principles of interpretation.

Interestingly, in response to the question (Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened?), some students opted for both films, suggesting a juxtaposition of different points of view:

> Dong-Seok (M.15): If both films are shown, it couldn't be better. You know, both films have different points of view.
> Int.: O.K. Then, imagine you are showing two films, which have different perspectives. If your friend asks which film is closer to the truth, what would you say?
> Jin-Yong, Dong-Seok: I would say the colour film is better.
> Int.: Tell me why.
> Jin-Yong (M.15): 'Cos the colour film shows **both sides of the Revolution**, like, not only positive aspects but also negative aspects.
> Dong-Seok: Exactly. Black and white film seems to go crazy about the Revolution, like, almost blind.
>
> (High School D, Year 1)

When the question was pursued further, these students chose *Reds* on the grounds that it appears more 'neutral'; again, *October* was accused of taking sides.

As seen in this section, students in the pilot study tended to view *October*, unlike *Reds*, as a cultural product of the period, paying attention to its origin and social background ['*October* seems to be good at making the message clear, 'cos it was commissioned by the government' (Hyeon-Sil, F.15); 'While the colour film [*Reds*] was an individual's project, the black and white one was made to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Revolution in the first place' (A-In, F.21)]. However, it is worthwhile to note that an awareness of the interplay between a film and its background does not necessarily lead to wholesale disapproval of the film as a medium for making sense of past society. ['It is very unlikely that that kind of film [*October*] is free from any coercion from the government … The film could function as a kind of

inspiration for socialism' (Se-Hyeon, M.16)].

4.4.2. Accounting for the factors of [non] altering films

In response to the **Question 3 (If the directors had experienced the collapse of the USSR, would they have made the films in a different way?),** most students suggested that *October* would have been changed in a more significant way than *Reds* would have been. According to students, the main characteristics of the shifts that might have been made in each film are as follows:

Figure 4.4.2.(a) Accounts of alteration (the characteristics of the change)

October
Alteration of point of view 'It [*October*] would have described the process of the revolution in a more balanced way.' (Hyo-Joon, M.15) 'Black and white one [*October*] is too optimistic about Lenin's leadership …If the director knew what would happen later, he wouldn't have shot the film in that way.' (A-In, F.21) 'As the Russian citizen [in Source R-1] pointed out, things got worse. A new film would reflect what happened in the end.' (Yong-Joo, M.13)
Change of tone 'It [*October*] would be softer than before … the images in that film are too strong and straightforward.' (Jeong-Hwa, F.13)
Adding on post-story of the Revolution 'The first half would be the same. Then, what went wrong would be added on.' (Myeong-Il, M.16)

Reds
Shift of focus 'If the director of *Reds* had got through all the changes, he would have made a film, which could have appealed to ex-American socialists, like, reminding them of the old days.' (Se-Hyeon, M.16) 'Jack would have disappeared … If he were taken out of the film, it would able to show only facts … The presence of Jack, a dreamer, made the film less convincing.' (Yi-Sak, F.13) 'I think more changes would have been made in the colour film, especially, the main character's way of thinking.' (Jang-Woo, M.13)
Change of story line 'There gonna be some changes in the interview scene.' (Da-Eun, F.16) 'If he [Jack] knew what would happen next, he wouldn't have devoted himself to the cause that much.' (So-Yang, F.13) 'If the film were re-made, it would cast Russians, I mean, the main characters would be Russian. In that way, it would become a totally different film.' (Hyeon-Ho, F.13)
Adding on post-story of the Revolution 'It is unlikely that significant changes would have been made… just adding on some parts, which explain how the USSR came to an end.' (Dong-Seok, M.15)

On the other hand, though providing different reasons, some students argued that neither of the films would have been changed.

Figure 4.4.2.(b) Accounts of non-alteration (the reasons for non-alteration)

The past is a given 'Even though you know what's happening in contemporary Russia, you can't change what happened in the past.' (Mee-Joo, F.15)
Reporting the past as it was 'We can't change the past… We can't film what happened in a bad way. Only thing you can do is just informing audience of what happened at that time.' (Sang-Duk, M.15)
Contemporary significance of the event remains the same 'The Russian citizen still thought the Revolution itself was a right thing. As time goes on, something went wrong. That's all.' (Yoo-Seung, M.16)

Clearly, it is unfair to assert that the responses above do not bear in mind the question of the interaction between past practice and present-day concerns. On the contrary, these students seem to acknowledge the way opinions and attitudes drawn from the present affect collective views of past reality. Then, what is it that makes these students feel uneasy about an alteration of the past? It might be useful to examine their ideas by drawing on responses which take it for granted that different filmic representations would have been provided as

time moves from one point to another:

> I think that any experience could make a difference. If someone experiences something, her own idea about that begins to come into play. I mean, **going through things would bring a difference to the film** (Yi-Seo, F.17).

> He [the director] would have filmed it [*October*] in a slightly different way [...] any revolution could turn sour, betraying people's expectations [...] The provisional government could have brought Russia better life. Who knows? But, the Revolution led to the end of the provisional government in the name of the people. **Looking back, it is hard to tell whether the Revolution really intended to bring peace and better life or not** (So-Yang, F.13).

The responses above seem to leave a film more room for manoeuvre to represent the past, either recognising the role of experience in shaping historical consciousness (in the case of the former) or emphasising the influence of guiding assumptions in filming the past (in the case of the latter). By contrast, those responses which deny any possibility of different representations of the past seem to assume that filmic representation should be immune from present views:

> Even though the revolution turns out to be a disaster later, it doesn't matter. From our point of view, it seems to be out of date, sticking to the ideals of Communism. But, **since it aims to record the revolution, there is no reason to alter filming** [...] All of them could agree with each other in saying an initial attempt made in Russia was good. For that reason, even different stances towards what the revolution had achieved wouldn't make any difference [in filming the early stage of the revolution]. **What the Russian citizen saw was mainly about the post-revolution era, anyway. All agree the ideal of the Revolution was doing the right thing**. (Sang-Duk. M.15).

Considering this student's equation of *October*'s filmic style with that of a documentary, it is not surprising to see that different stances were not viewed as factors for changing filmic

representation of the past. Interestingly, a few students (including Sang-Duk) argued that a directors' political stance would significantly affect the films:

> It depends on what kind of person the director is. **If the person really devoted himself to socialism**, he would even go more extreme, say, more like a strong propaganda. **If he is just an opportunist**, he would alter the film in tune with a dominant ideology, like, adjusting himself into a different society (Keong-Seok, M.17)

> If the director of the black and white film [*October*] was **a die-hard Communist**, it would have remained the same. If he wasn't, like, **an opportunist**, lots of changes would have been made (Dong-Seok, M.15)

Both responses above seem to suggest a view that authorial factors strongly affect the relationship between past practice and the representation of the past, hinting at the possibility of manipulation of the past. However, the latter student also addresses the problem of the limits of interpretation, assuming that 'facts' cannot be subjected to an author's position:

> Int.: As a matter of fact, what happened remains the same. As you watched, there was a war and hunger. And, people arose to change their conditions. If it is the case, why should the director shoot his film in a different way?
> Dong-Seok: Let me make myself clear. I don't think the black and white film [*October*] would have been changed dramatically. **Most of the parts, which show facts, would be the same**. Just one more thing. **If the director is not a hard-line Communist, he would film uncivilised, or rather violent characteristics of the labourer.**

Overall, there seems to be a distinction between 'hard' pieces of reality and 're-definable' feature of the past. Students' ideas about the relationship between past practice and reconstruction of the past can be tracked by considering their approaches toward different sources:

Int.: Let's talk about *Reds* a bit. Tell me any ideas about the witness. You remember, at the very beginning of the film, there are several old people, who are talking about their acquaintances. Tell me how convincing those people's memories are.

[…]

Int.: Say, are those recollections more reliable than historians' account?

Keong-Seok (M.17): Those grandpas' story sounds more believable.

Int.: Why is that?

Keong-Seok: 'Cos **historians tend to put their own ideas. Like talking from their standpoint.**

Kyeong-Han (M.16): Did you say those people knew the main characters in the film?

Int.: That's right.

Kyeong-Han: Then, their accounts are less convincing, 'cos they're talking about one of their friends.

Yeon-Joong (F.16): [approving Kyeong-Han's idea] Moreover, they're all American. They haven't gone through the Revolution like Russian people.

Int.: Are you saying that they're not in a position to know what really happened in Russia?

Yeon-Joong: You know, it's **not first-hand experiences**.

[…]

Int.: Right. Then, let me ask you all about using this stuff, like, films, photos, and written materials. If you are going to use these materials in the history classroom, which ones would be the best for teaching Russian Revolution?

Kyeong-Han: I reckon, photos are the best of all.

Int.: Tell me why?

Kyeong-Han: You can see clearly…

Keong-Seok: 'Cos **photos are more objective**.

Yeon-Joong: I agree with you two. Photos are also O.K.. But, to me, there is something touching in the historian's account.

Int.: Tell me a bit more.

Yeon-Joong: I know **the account is skewed by the historian's own idea**. But,

that's why I'm attracted to it.

Int.: Hum…

Yeon-Joong: How shall I put it? **The Russian citizen seems to be too opportunistic**, like swinging back and forth, like, depending on the situation.

Kyeong-Han: Come on, it proves that she is more genuine.

Yeon-Joong: To me, **she doesn't seem to know what history is all about.**

(High School B, Year 2)

As illustrated above, it would appear that students attempted to come to terms in a similar fashion with the notion of acceptable subject-positions with regard to testimony and historical analysis respectively. For instance, even though Keong-Seok and Yeon-Joong gave different credibility to a historian's account, both students seem to hold an assumption of [il]legitimate subjectivity, which they assume necessarily leads to partial understandings of the past. It is also notable that photography was seen by the same students as a 'direct/factual' record rather than as a 'partial/positional' representation of the event, reflecting students' 'picture theory' of the past. In glossing a historian's interpretation as a mere subject-position, none of these responses took into account historians' search for a more comprehensive understanding of the past, which remains self-critical.

In fact, it is too hasty to draw parallels between students' conceptions of filmic representation of the past and their ideas about historical research. However, the way students perceive the interplay between past and present in filmic reconstruction seems to hinge on their range of assumptions about the stance for writing history: from innocent onlookers to polemical participants. Given the responses which made exclusive reference to a director's set of beliefs as determinants of [non]alteration of the past, it is at least safe to say that students barely consider the status of history as a way of knowing the past and present, glossing over the problem of the arbitration of truth-claims.

4.4.3. Accounting for the post-revolution era of Russia

As mentioned previously, **Question 3**, especially, and supplementary materials such as

photos and written sources (see, pp.99-101), set out to investigate students' ideas about the interaction between the categories of the present and past practice. Additionally, the aim was to show how the categories of the present employed by students function as a story-parameter in producing historical accounts.

It would appear that students tended to be more engaged with photos than with films; for example, working with photos, they frequently drew examples from 'practical life'. The essential consideration here is that a dividing line between assumptions from everyday life and those from the history classroom seemed not to be as straightforward as they appeared. However, the way students made sense of the photos (see pp.99-100) in the pilot study can be characterised as follows.

Figure 4.4.3. The references employed by students to understand the post-revolution era of Russia

Reference to communal memory 'She [Picture O] looks amazed by the new commodity. You know, there was a time when electricity began to be available in Korea. Back then, people in the countryside were almost shocked just like this granny.' (Kyeong-Han, M.16) '(Referring Picture M, N and P) It was in the 1940s [in Korea] when the whole society was turned upside down. A privileged group has been changed. I'm not saying that there isn't any social division, at the moment. Different people, different generations consist of a newly divided society.' (Sang-Duk, M.15)
Explanation in terms of 'folk psychology'[18] '(Picking up Picture O) I don't understand…though they are so poor, they are still buying foreign products.' (Mee-Joo, F.15) '(Referring to Picture M) Look, we can hardly see customers. Most of all, no one would feel like buying clothes in such a gloomy place.' (A-In, F.21)
Reference to everyday assumptions '(Referring to Picture P) It came to me that the power elite is always better-off regardless of social change. They don't give damn about the Revolution.' (Dong-Seok, M.15) '(Referring to Picture N and P) A privileged group is always better-off. regardless of the change of system.' (Yoo-Seung, M.16)

[18] 'Folk psychology' here is interchangeable with 'commonsense' psychology as students in this category tended to draw on behavioural dispositions while interpreting the photographs.

Reference to in-and-out of school knowledge '(Referring to Picture N and Picture P) As far as I know, having been a Communist country, Russia has got a serious problem, like, a sharp division between the rich and the poor.' (Hee-Cheol, M.13) '(Referring to Picture O) It occurred to me that they overproduced fridges, without realising that there isn't much food to fill inside.' (Myeong-Il, M.16) '(Referring to Picture P) I think they are just tiny part of a big picture.' (Yi-Seo, F.17)
Reference to visual language of the photos 'It [Picture O] looks strangely unbalanced […] She seems to get lost in a labyrinth, like, in the middle of nowhere […] Somehow, she looks alienated.' (Joon-Won, M.16) 'Both grannies [Picture N and Picture O] don't look well-off. I mean, the tone of these photos is not glamorous at all.' (So-Dam, F.15) 'After the revolution, the society seemed to be divided into two groups, say, the poor and the rich. And, the Russian society doesn't seem to be stable. For example, the factory [Picture L] broke down, and, the department store [Picture M] is … ' (Hyeon-Sil, F.15) '(Taking a turn from Hyeon-Sil) Empty. It's totally different from department stores in Korea.' (Se-Hyeon, M.16)

As illustrated above, students attempted to interpret the message of the photographs by using a variety of resources: from appealing to a communal past, folk psychology and everyday assumptions through drawing on in and out of school knowledge to interpreting visual grammars. Of course, the way each reference interacts seems to be open to question. To be more specific, to what extent might clues in the visual text, or everyday assumptions, function as story-parameters in producing historical accounts? Part of the answer may be suggested by the following excerpt that shows the way students employ present-day assumptions to understand [dis]continuity in the post-Cold War era of Russia:

> Sang-Duk (M.15): To my mind, these photos can be divided into two groups.
>
> Mee-Joo (F.15): A glamorous life after a dark age?
>
> (laughter)
>
> Yoo-Seung (M.16): (Picking up the Picture P) People are well-off …
>
> Int.: Do they look like an upper class?
>
> Sang-Duk: (Pointing at the Picture M, N, and O) Just after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the society hasn't got over the legacy of the Communist regime. You see? A sense of failure. (Picking up the Picture P) But, soon after the introduction of Capitalism, people's life is getting better and better.
>
> Int.: You mean, their living standard is improved?

Yoo-Seung: Not everybody, I think. **A privileged group is always better-off**, regardless of the change of system.

Int.: That's possible.

Yoo-Seung: They have been pretty much the same for the last half century, post-revolution period and post-Communist era.

Int.: That might also be the case for Korea.

Sang-Duk: I don't think so. **There was a radical change in Korea**. As far as I remember, in the 1940s, just after emancipation from Japanese colonialism, all land-owners got killed.

Int.: You mean, in North Korea?

Sang-Duk: It suddenly occurred to me … I'm reading **a novel, 'Tae-Back Mountains'**, half way through. There are many occasions, killing the land-owners. Were they a privileged group, so-called bourgeois?

Int.: They were a kind of bourgeois, not exactly the same as the Western bourgeois. Their main income came from exploiting their land-tenants.

Sang-Duk: It was **in 1940s when whole society was turned upside down**. A privileged group has been changed. I'm not saying that there isn't any social division, at the moment. Different people, different generations comprise a newly divided society.

(High School A, Year 1)

Bearing in mind these students' brief encounter with Russian history in the history classroom, it appears to be assumptions drawn from everyday life that play the most important role in telling a story about the post-revolution era of Russia. In particular, students' ideas about social change seem to be heavily influenced by a communal past, which often brings historical enquiry to bear on the present and future.

4.4.4. Findings

The pilot study set out to explore a series of questions: 1) What strategies do students employ in order to approach a visual text?; 2) To what extent do visual representations of

the past function as a backdrop against which students understand the past (or present) society? What emerged from the interview process can be summarised as follows:

First, students' reactions to different levels of credibility – an 'objective' style of reporting, direct testimony (personal memory) and a form of drama – varied. Faced with the question about better representations of the past, students seemed to consider a range of factors: 'factual record versus imaginary construction', 'primary memory versus secondary memory', and 'polemical text versus non-polemical text'. Apart from a few responses, students' ideas of *October* and *Reds* tended to correspond to the characteristics of 'social reportage' (in the case of *October*) versus 'entertaining drama' (in the case of *Reds*). The remaining question is to what extent the formal element of representation is taken into account as a determinant for better understanding the past. Overall, while responses opting for *October* tended to highlight its blend of symbolism and realism (an experimental style of montage), those opting for *Reds* tended to emphasise its strong narrative and unified drama.

Second, despite a few exceptions, the range of criticisms directed at each film tended to ground themselves on factors of origin and authorship rather than those of style and tone. In particular, the ways students perceived and construed the author's intentions and perspectives seemed go hand in hand with both their everyday assumptions about neutrality and objectivity and their disciplinary ideas about historical enquiry. For instance, while most students tended to regard *Reds* as an objective report based on neutral observation, some dismissed *October* as polemical propaganda fuelled by a political agenda (a distant observer versus a positional participant). On the other hand, while *Reds* is viewed as an individual work void of social background, *October* is seen as a communal project invested with class interests (a free-standing vehicle versus a reflection of the period). This tendency is congruent with Seixas' (1994) research on the Canadian high school students' approaches to a pair of films, *The Searchers* (1956) and *Dances with Wolves* (1990) in that students' perceptions of the cinematic conventions of each film had an impact on their judgement about the link between the film and the society in which it is produced[19]. While the 'unfamiliar' and 'experimental' style of *October* led students into considering it as a blatantly one-sided filmic representation of the 1920s, the 'familiar' and 'low-key'

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[19] For a summary of Seixas' (1994) findings, see pp. 48-49.

approaches to the October Revolution in *Reds* stopped them from questioning the 'social' background of the film.

Third, students' approaches to interactions between present-day historical consciousness and understandings of the past in filmic representation seemed to hinge on their ideas about writing history. From the students' view, it is *October* that would be altered in a significant way, reflecting interpretive differences through time. In addition, it is also *October* that would either face a dramatic change or remain the same, heavily dependent on authorial factors. In other words, students tended to attribute the very possibility of manipulation of the past to authors' beliefs and attitudes

Finally, it is worth observing that across given questions students attempted to ground their understanding of the past in assumptions drawn either from formal schooling or from everyday life, making explicit references to the history classroom, and to films and novels. In this respect, students' comments on the experience of living in a divided country, such as the public viewing of anti-Communist propaganda films and an encounter with an unofficial historical account is particularly interesting. In the light of history as a cultural practice of identity, the possible role of a 'communal past' is an important consideration that may shed light on aspects of the development of historical consciousness. In particular, photographs functioned as a kind of intertext, which encouraged students to link their 'practical life' with understanding the past.

4.5. Limitations of the early analysis in the pilot study and the revisions of the task set

As summarised in the previous section, the analysis of the responses in the pilot study enabled the researcher to draw some preliminary pictures of students' ideas about historical representations in general as well as about the filmic past. In this section, the revisions of the task set and its methodological ground will be outlined, taking into account the limitations of the early analytical framework.

First, a decision to add another pair of films (The Holocaust set: *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*) was made in an attempt to explore students' appropriation of the genre factor for a comparison of different filmic pasts in a more explicit way. Even though the pair of films in the Russian Revolution task tended to be viewed as a documentary (*October*) – fiction film (*Reds*) set, the task did not aim to compare the two films in terms of genre. In contrast, by employing a pair of films – one documentary (*Shoah*) and one fiction (*Schindler's List*) – about the same event, the Holocaust task was intended to map out the way that students weave their conceptions of generic features into their account of better historical representation (for a more detailed account of the selection of the films and written sources, see Chapter 5). In the case of the Russian Revolution set, the first pair of film clips was dropped since there was a sense of redundancy: the second pair of film clips also appeared to lead students to compare the films in a more open-ended way, which the first pair was expected to do.

Second, the written sources for the Holocaust task were selected in order to pursue the issue of how students relate to historical representations, confronting the question of the use and abuse of history. While the Russian Revolution set also touched upon the problem of the 'practical past'[20] through the question of revisions of historical representations, it is the Holocaust set that specifically set out to investigate students' assumptions about how a past event is appropriated for present interests. For instance, Source H-1 (see p.164) drew attention to media flirtation with the 'limiting case' in history, directing a criticism against the so-called 'Shoah business' in the film industry. On the other hand, Source H-2 (see p.164) can be seen as an example of the judicial past, wherein the past was configured as a part of 'winning the case': the meaning of the event was contested, debated at length, and, yet eventually settled for either moral condemnation or to serve a political agenda.

Third, the question of 'why historical accounts differ' was added, followed by film-viewing

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[20] This term is coined by M. Oakeshott in his attempt to distinguish it from the 'historical' past. According to him, a practical past is categorically different from an historically understood past in that 'it [a practical past] is an accumulation of symbolic persons, actions, utterances, situations and artefacts, the products of practical imaginations, and their only significant relationship to past is not to the past to which they ambiguously and inconsequently refer but to the time and circumstances in which they achieved currency in a vocabulary of practical discourse' (Oakeshott, 1999: 48).

and the task of deciding on a better filmic representation in order to investigate the way students' ideas about the nature of historical accounts were at work in this study. As stated in the previous section, students' choice (or non-choice) of a better filmic past in the pilot study reflected their assumptions about how different historical accounts are generated, tested, and re-shaped. Bearing this in mind, the question 'On which grounds we can decide better historical account?' was also followed by the task of choosing a more accurate filmic representation of the past. This question was intended as a means of tracking the way students' ideas about competing historical representations are drawn from their assumptions about historical accounts. In addition to this, one of the questions raised by analysis of the data in the pilot study is whether a set of ideas is at work together. For instance, identifying a relationship between students' presuppositions about the role of perspective in historical study and their suggestions about changing historical representation can shed light on their ideas about the relationship between objectivity and historicity. Therefore, the analytical procedure of the main data employed cross-task analysis in order to map out the configuration of different aspects of students' historical understanding.

Finally, the focus on the use of some photographs was limited to providing references to the context of the events in question; that is, the question of comparison between films and photographs in terms of trustworthiness was discarded. As shown in the previous section, the photographs about the post-Soviet era provoked a discussion about the authors' intentions and their position of knowledge about the event in representing reality. Furthermore, compared to the film clips, the photographs tended to lead students to make references to their encounters with history in a wider cultural sense, invoking their experiences of reading historical novels and communal viewing of propaganda films. Perhaps, elucidating a mutually informative relationship between memory and reconstruction of the past in students' minds requires further research. On the other hand, it is worth noting that photographs in the pilot study encouraged students to engage in lively discussion about visual language and its potentials and pitfalls in historical representations. However, investigating students' ideas about different visual media would require other analytical procedures.

Summary

This chapter has provided an outline of the construction of research materials and interview procedures for the pilot study, which formed the basis for one of the two tasks used in the main study. An early analysis of students' comparisons of two films about the Russian Revolution (*October* and *Reds*) and their interpretations of written sources and photographs about post-Soviet Russia enabled the researcher to draw a tentative picture of students' approaches to different historical representations. In particular, it illustrated that students' ideas about the 'faithful' filmic rendition of the past appeared to centre on their ideas about 'ideal' historical accounts. In addition, these explanatory findings concerning students' approaches to competing filmic representations of the past led to the reformulation of the interview questions, as well as the addition of another pair of films (*Shoah* and *Schindler's List*) for the main study. The question about deciding on a 'better' historical account was added in order to examine the ways in which students' criteria for a more accurate filmic past are interlinked with their views on the production and modification of historical knowledge. The decision to include a pair of films about the Holocaust was made with the aim of exploring further the ways in which students take the genre factor into account when interpreting competing filmic representations. In the following chapter, the methodological framework and research methods for the main study are presented. The ways in which the categorisation of students' responses in the pilot study informed the analytical procedures in the main study are discussed in the last section of the following chapter.

Chapter 5. Methods of the main study

As shown in the last section of the previous chapter, reflection on the pilot study led to some modifications of initial instruments such as an addition of the Holocaust task and rearrangement of film segments in the Russian Revolution task. In this chapter, the framework for the primary analysis of data will be delineated, followed by a brief discussion of the theoretical framework of research methods, the characteristics of participants, and the selection of film segments for the Holocaust set.

5.1. Methodological framework

As noted in the Chapter 3, research in the field of history education in South Korea has focused either on teaching approaches or on textbook analysis rather than on empirical studies into students' perceptions of history. This can be attributed partly to the fact that South Korean researchers in the field of history education are relatively more informed of particular research methods such as document analysis (mainly used for textbook analysis) and classroom observation (mainly adopted for investigation of teaching practice). Moreover, a body of research on students' historical thinking in South Korea is considered either 'merely psychological' or lacking methodological rigour (H.-J. Kim, 1992: 31). Perhaps, the challenge of tracking students' understandings of history within an examination-orientated setting is doubled by the lack of discussion of research methods: 'devices designed to help participants articulate ideas about topics they may have little practice discussing' (Barton, 2006: 7).

In contrast, researchers across different countries have developed various methods, in an attempt to explore students' historical understanding, though with different foci. For instance, as Ahonen (2001: 740) points out, 'the US research tradition has traditionally been characterised by either a civic interest or a psychological approach' to school history, while contemporary UK research is largely dominated by empirical studies into students' own learning of the discipline' (quoted in Lévesque, 2005: 356). According to Seixas (2006: 158), amongst a range of frameworks for examining the progression of historical thinking, 'the

best researched of these grew out of the British Schools Council History Project (Shemilt, 1980).' Broadly speaking, research methods used in this study are adopted from the mode of UK research (Lee and Ashby, 2000; Lee and Shemilt 2004), which has focused on mapping out adolescents' tacit understanding of history as a discipline.

First of all, the research paradigm of this study is qualitative in that it set out to explore existing patterns of adolescents' historical understanding through small-scale semi-structured interviews rather than to generalise the findings through large-scale structured questionnaires. In other words, the findings in this study are not claimed to be representative of historical understanding amongst South Korean adolescents: 'the goal is to describe a specific group in fine detail and to explain the patterns that exist, certainly not to discover general laws of human behaviour' (Schofield, 1993: 92).

Consequently, the concern with the interpretation of the bulk of data entails the pursuit of what Maxwell (1992: 281) calls 'internal validity': that is, 'a realist conception of validity that sees the validity of an account as inherent, not in the procedures used to produce and validate it, but in its relationship to those things that it is intended to be an account of' (Smith and Deemer, 2003: 432). Crucial here is the issue of a 'fit' between research questions and actual methods as well as provision of 'a clear description of one's theoretical stance and research techniques' (Schofied, 1993: 97). In particular, the broad interpretive framework adopted in this study is grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), which emphasises exploration rather than the verification of hypotheses. Therefore, the most frequently used set of analytic procedures in this study is 'grounded theorising'. As Boulton and Hammersley (1996: 290) elaborate, 'the analytical categories used to make sense of the data [...] have to be developed in the process of data analysis.' This theoretical framework is the backdrop against which actual research methods employed in this study such as semi-structured interviews and coding procedures are implemented.

Overall, this study is inductive in that analytic procedure is data-oriented, while acknowledging the role of theory in shaping the interpretation of data. According to Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000: 15), researchers who position themselves within the framework of grounded theory start inductively not in a sense that their induction starts

directly from data. Instead, the framework of grounded theory involves the second phase: that is, 'comparison between several cases with a concomitant extension of the empirical base' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000: 15). This method enables researchers to conduct a more abstract level of analysis, leading them to generate and develop theory. Even though the first phase of analysis in this study has involved 'open coding' (Straus and Corbin, 1990: 61), dependence on theory cannot be dismissed. For instance, some of categories in this study were 'literature-derived-concepts', which 'are loaded with analytic meaning and may already be considerably well developed in their own right' (Straus and Corbin, 1990: 68).

However, the purpose of this study does not lie in offering a privileged understanding. Although a disciplinary reading might have an impact on naming the categories, much greater emphasis is placed on exploring what emerges in interview accounts, combining exploration with inspection, 'in which the preliminary concepts that were discovered are successively revised and complemented, while at the same time the empirical items to which the respective concepts refer are "turned and twisted"' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000: 13). Specifically, in an attempt to pursue an openness to students' responses, which sometimes disconfirm the researcher's taken-for-granted assumptions and implicit ideas, reformulating the categorisations from the early stages of data interpretation is implemented through different phases of data analysis.

The main data was collected through semi-structured interviews, in that a standardised schedule is used for each respondent, while 'the order can be modified based upon the interviewer's perception of what seems most appropriate' (Robson, 2002: 270). The choice of the type of semi-structured interview considers 'fitness for purpose' (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2004: 270). On the one hand, the use of predetermined questions increases comparability of responses, enabling the researcher to identify students' historical understandings across a broad range of issues. On the other hand, the exploratory purpose of this study requires a certain degree of flexibility, allowing the interviewer to re-focus the questions in the course of interview according to each student's responses.

Even in the case of informal conversational interviews, as Wilson (1996: 95) stresses, collecting data involves some degree of structuring: '[…] interviews such as these

['naturalistic' interviews] are managed to a large extent by the interviewer, who sets the agenda of questions, probes more deeply into issues of interest with supplementary questions [...].' In addition to this, data is 'structured' in the sense that the participants' perception of the researcher affects the way they answer the interview questions: 'actors' [participants'] responses will reflect the researcher's attempt to take or make a research role' (Ball, 1993: 35).

In this study, the researcher was considered as a 'teacher figure' by students as she was introduced to them by their teachers, endowing her with an aura of authority. For instance, students addressed the researcher as 'Ms', and regarded the interview as an extension of their history lessons. On the other hand, the perceptions that students held of the researcher in this teacher role were disturbed by the fact that the format of film-viewing and follow-up questions was distinct from that of their history class. The issue here is, as Ball (1993: 35) notes, the taking of either a 'ready-made role' or a 'recognisable research role' will make an impact on 'the kind of data elicited in the research setting'. In fact, the research role in this study was more 'recognisable' in that their teachers stressed to the participants the purpose of the visit from 'abroad' at the beginning of each interview.

Although the role taken in this study did not attempt to either confirm or upset students' expectations of role, the link between the kind of interactions in the field and the process of data collection needs to be addressed. Bearing this in mind, in the following section, an outline of the characteristics of the participants and the context of the institutional setting as well as ethical considerations involved in data collection will be provided.

5.2. Participants: context of data collection and ethical considerations

The main data collection took place in ten middle schools (lower secondary level), thirteen high schools (upper secondary level) and one Youth Centre between 3rd May and 28th June 2003. Initially, the researcher gained an access to the research site through history teachers who had attended the same course, BA and MA in History in Education, with her in South Korea, between 1989 and 1994. As a result, the initial characteristics of participating schools were rather homogeneous in terms of status and location as the history teachers who agreed

to participate in this study tended to teach in an inner-city General school[21]. Nine institutions (four middle schools and five high schools)[22] – amongst them, there were two Vocational schools and four independent schools – were added in an attempt to provide more dimensions to the sample. The participating schools included one middle school, two high schools and one Youth Centre that had participated in the pilot study. Although these four research sites in the main study are the same as those in the pilot study, there was no group of students who participated both in the pilot and main study. It should be also noted that there was no group of students who participated in both tasks, the Russian Revolution set and the Holocaust set. The number of participants and characteristics of schools are charted below.

Table 5.1. The demographic feature of participants for the main study

School	Year (age)	The Russian Revolution task		The Holocaust task	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Middle School	Year 2 (12-14)	2	6	10	3
	Year 3 (14-15)	6		1	5
Sub-total		14		19	
High School	Year 1 (15-16)	1	4	2	7
	Year 2 (16-17)	18	7	11	13
Sub-total	Q	30		33	
Total		44		52	

[21] The graduates of the institution where the researcher and the participating history teachers did their degree are placed in secondary General schools in Seoul in state sector.
[22] Interviews with students in these schools were arranged by their headmasters and headmistresses.

Table 5.2. The location and status of participating schools for the main study

School		The Russian Revolution task	The Holocaust task
Middle School	inner city school	4 (Middle School A,B,C,D)	4 (Middle School F,G,H,I)
	suburban school	1 (Middle School E)	1 (Middle School J)
Sub-total		5	5
High School	General school	6 (High School A,B,C,D,E,F)	7 (High School A,B,C: the same school as those in the Russian Revolution task with a different group of students; G,H,I,J)
	Specialist school	1 (Foreign Language High School K)	
	Vocational school		2 (High School L: commerce; High School M: agriculture)
Youth Centre			1 (Youth Centre N)
Sub-total		7	10
Total number of participating institutions for each task		12	15
Total number of participating schools		10 Middle Schools; 13 High Schools, 1 Youth centre	

(*Apart from two vocational schools, all participating high schools are located in Seoul)

As was the case with the pilot study, the teachers or head teachers were informed of the purpose of this study and its interview protocol and accompanying materials in an attempt to procure 'informed consent'. Teachers or head teachers in this study were aware of the 'condition of informedness' and 'consensuality' on behalf of students. What concerned them most was the comprehensibility of the research materials and the rather controversial nature of the content. As was the case with the pilot study, some teachers assumed that the unfamiliar content of the two tasks might be incomprehensible for some students since they had not yet covered the two topics in the study of world history at the time of interview.

Moreover, even though *October* was released from the restriction of censorship-board in South Korea, it was still perceived as a Communist propaganda film from the former 'enemy' nation, which had supported North Korea in the Korean War. The consent was given after the researcher highlighted the fact that the aim of research lay in exploring the ways students interpret the films rather than testing their substantive knowledge or lecturing about the Russian Revolution through films.

In the context of educational research, as Homan (2001: 24) points out, 'consent is assumed rather than informed' in that the procedure to seek consent with respondents is often omitted, leaving the agreement to participate in research to head teachers. In this study, it is teachers who consulted with students, explaining to them the procedures and instruments of interview at the outset of research. Again, there is a danger of 'the myth of voluntariness' in that 'apprehension and inhibition may be overcome for fear of being regarded as unco-operative and affecting the teacher-students relationship' (Homan, 2001: 31). In addition to this, it was also observed that students appeared to perceive each task set as an extension of routine classroom assignments. However, in view of their tendency to try to confirm the researcher's expectation, she emphasised at the outset of interview the fact that there is no right or wrong answer for these questions.

Even though the schools drawn on for this study vary in terms of location, status, and academic performance, the classroom practices across the schools can be regarded as fairly representative of a more general approach to history education in South Korea. In all cases, teachers are informed by the single established syllabus and state-authorised textbooks (for the use and selection of history textbooks in South Korea, see Chapter 3. Context of the research). Of course, supplementary texts such as hand-outs and audio-visual materials could be the results of an individual teacher's decision. However, a highly centralised school curriculum and the pressure of university entrance exams seem to give teachers little room for manoeuvre, leaving the pursuit of 'alternative' approaches to learning history to a few 'progressive' teachers.

Of course, this study does not aim to establish representativeness, as if the analysis of the findings could be directly generalisable to other schools. This study set out to explore

students' approaches to representations of the past, seeking to map a range of ideas rather than illuminating the influence of different pedagogic approaches. However, it is important to delineate institutional settings, in an attempt to contextualise students' responses in relation to their schooling.

Amongst schools selected for this study, the Specialist school (Foreign Language High School K) has an intake of high achievers as they select students on the basis of academic ability. Apart from this kind of school, the rest of the secondary schools in South Korea are non-selective, taking students on the basis of the principle of proximity.[23] In addition to the status of [non]selective schools, the location of school will also tend to have an impact on the intake. For instance, High Schools A and G are located in 'popular' areas in Seoul, into which parents strive to move, in an attempt to send their child to 'good' schools, which have high success rates in privileged university entrance examinations. Therefore, apart from the participants of the three high schools mentioned above, the rest of the students in this study did not come from exceptional academic backgrounds.

While most of schools in this study are classified as General high schools, two high schools were established to provide vocational education.[24] Compared to General schools, which aim to prepare students for higher education, Vocational schools tend to place less emphasis on Humanities subjects such as history and geography. Apart from the characteristics of each school, teachers who participated in this study also have an impact on the nature of the responses since some of teachers tend to seek to provide an 'alternative' account to the dominant narrative of history (for a brief account of classroom observation, see Appendix D).

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[23] Following the revision of Education Law in 1995, more 'choices' have been granted to middle school students. More 'equalization areas', where students are allocated to the school on the basis of the principle of proximity, were replaced by 'non-equalization areas'. As a result, schools in a 'non-equalization area' as well as top-ranked high schools such as Foreign Language High schools and Science High schools were entitled to 'select' students on the basis of the entrance test score and the 'school activities record'.

[24] Despite the government initiatives to resuscitate vocational education, Vocational high schools, which offer specialized courses (agriculture, industry, commerce, fisheries/maritime, and home economics), have declined. In fact, Vocational high schools provide general secondary education, which enables their students to apply for two-year Junior Colleges or Technical Colleges. However, compared to the 'Humanities' or 'Science' stream, the 'Vocational' stream is considered as inferior in terms of job prospects and future social status.

Additionally, two groups of participants in High School B (one group in the Russian Revolution task and the other in the Holocaust task) were drawn from the members of school film society, which produces films for the Adolescent Film Festival in South Korea. However, it also should be noted that these students had not been exposed to film-making experience as these Year 1 students with the exception of one Year 2 student had been doing the club activity for two months. During the first term[25], the extra-curricular activity had focused on film-viewing and discussions once a week. It should be stressed that sampling of this study did not intend to identify the relationship between students' media literacy and their interpretation of the films. However, it is worth noting that these students tended to show less interest in trying to confirm with what they thought the interviewer was getting at. Rather, they framed the interview question of comparison of the films in a more open way, and suggested various ways of approaching a given task. Possibly, it has to do with the fact that the interview was conceived as a part of their club activities rather than an extension of formal schooling.

With respect to the protection of the anonymity of research participants, as Cohen et al. (2004: 62) point out, 'there is sometimes the difficulty of maintaining an assurance of anonymity when [...] categorisation of data may uniquely identify an individual or institution.' Overall, 'gatekeepers' in this study showed less concern with ensuring anonymity and confidentiality partly because this study did not aim to compare students' performance between schools, and partly because the researcher was considered as an 'outsider', who conducts research for 'foreign' audiences. However, the names of students have been changed in order not to reveal their identity. In the case of the name of institutions, the participating schools were codified as (for example) High School A and Middle School B – the code here does not denote the initial of the name of each school.

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[25] Each academic year starts in March in Korea. The interview was conducted in the middle of the first term.

5.3. Instruments and procedures

Another pair of films (the Holocaust set: *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*)[26] was added to the task in the main study in order to pursue the issue of how students construe the cinematic domains of fiction film and documentary in terms of judgments about better representations of the past. It is a commonly held view that documentaries are superior to fiction films on the basis of their claim to be faithful to reality and their use of real people in a natural setting. However, the cinematic categories of documentary and fiction film have been increasingly thrown into doubt. In particular, the two films about the Holocaust used in this study raise an issue about the blurring of the boundaries between fiction and reality: 'Lanzmann […] described his film [*Shoah*] as a "fiction of reality", whereas Spielberg based his film [*Schindler's List*] on a "real story" and simulated many documentary traditions' (Loshitzky, 1997: 107) (see still images of *Schindler's List* below)[27].

A deportee train arrives at Auschwitz

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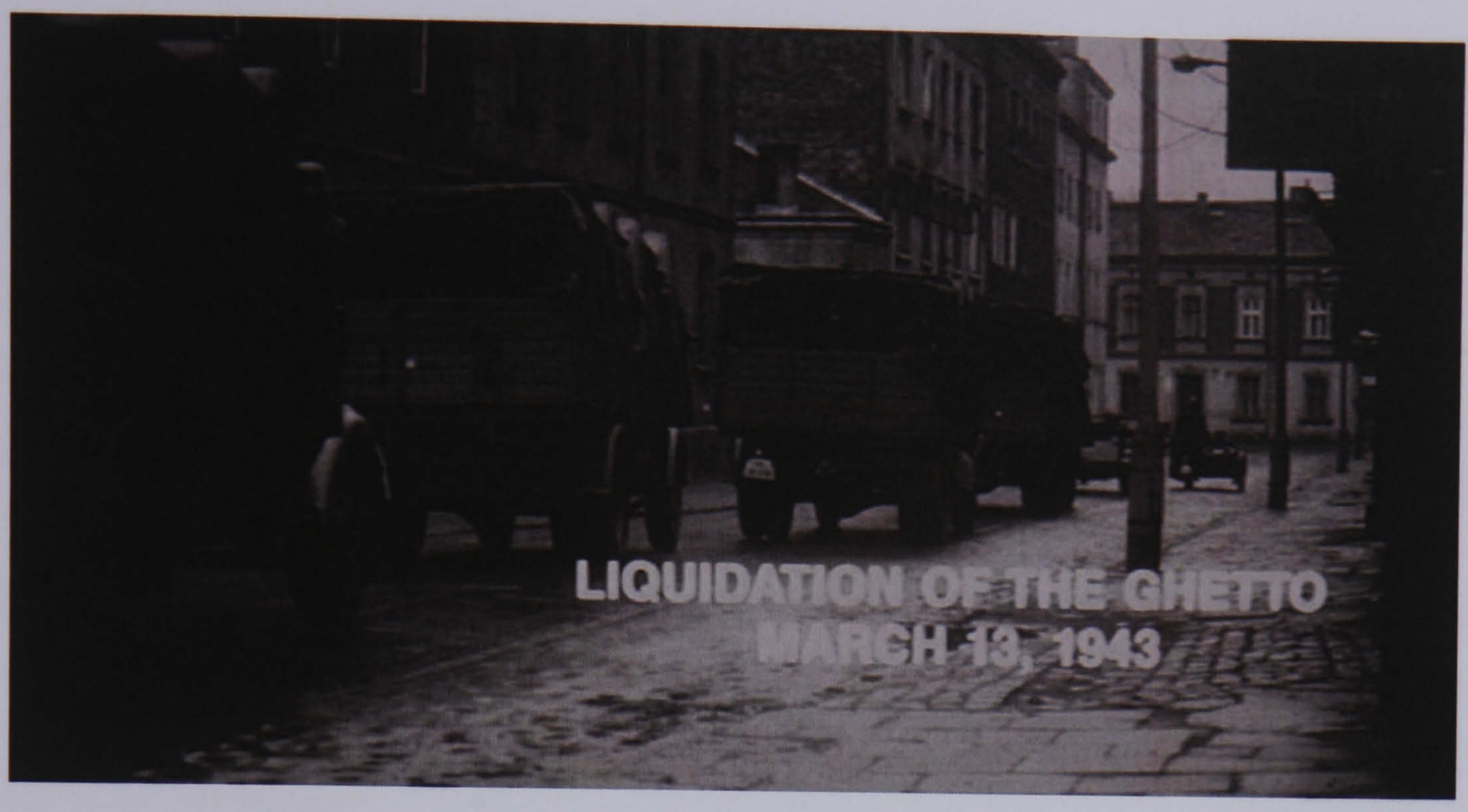
[26] For the film script of each segment used in this study, see Appendix G.

[27] These still images of *Schindler's List* are exemplary in that they show the characteristically 'archival' appearance of the footage. The images are part of Segments of *Schindler's List* used in this study. The first image is part of Segment 2, and the last two images are part of Segment 3.



The beginning of the operation

Soldiers are ready for the liquidation of the ghetto

Amongst both film critics and film historians[28], a series of attempts to make a comparison between the two films has been drawn upon to provide the grounds for the selection of film

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[28] For a discussion of these two films, see Loshitzky, Y. (1997) *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, especially Loshitzky's and Bartov's article in this volume.

clips for the purpose of a comparative task for students. The film clips in the Russian Revolution task used in the main study primarily remained the same as those in the pilot study (for film segments of the Russian Revolution set, see Chapter 4).[29]

As was the case with the Russian Revolution task, the choice of film segments for the Holocaust task was made in an attempt to investigate students' ideas about reality and credibility across different forms of representation. As a result, both film clips used in the first part of the Holocaust task deal with the deportation of the Jews, though with different approaches to the representation of the event. As seen in *Schindler's List* Segment 1 and *Shoah* Segment 1, while the scenes in *Schindler's List* acted out what happened to the Jews during deportation, those in *Shoah* reconstructed the event in the form of an interview with one of the eyewitnesses.

Schindler's List Segment 1: Deportation of the Jews – Oskar Schindler rescues his accountant, Itzhak Stern, from a deportation train

Scene 1: Train station

A departure for the concentration camp

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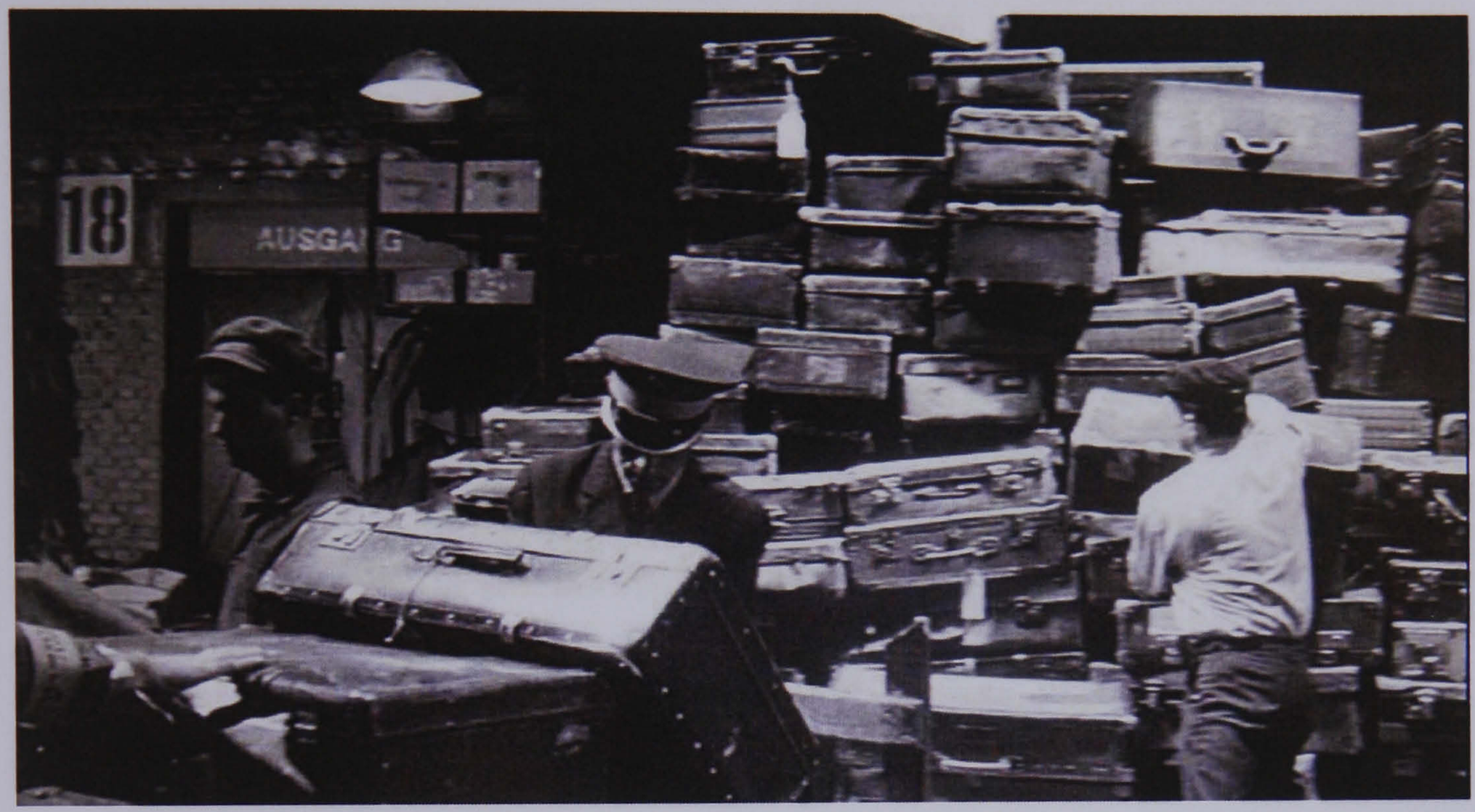
[29] The first pair of film clips for the pilot study (*Reds* Segment 1 and *October* Segment 1) was taken out due to time limitations and limited relevance to research questions. Segment 2 and Segment 3 in the pilot study became Segment 1 and Segment 2 respectively for the Russian Revolution task in the main study.

Oskar Schindler checks every carriage, looking for Itzhak Stern

Schindler managed to find Stern and took him off the train and back to the factory

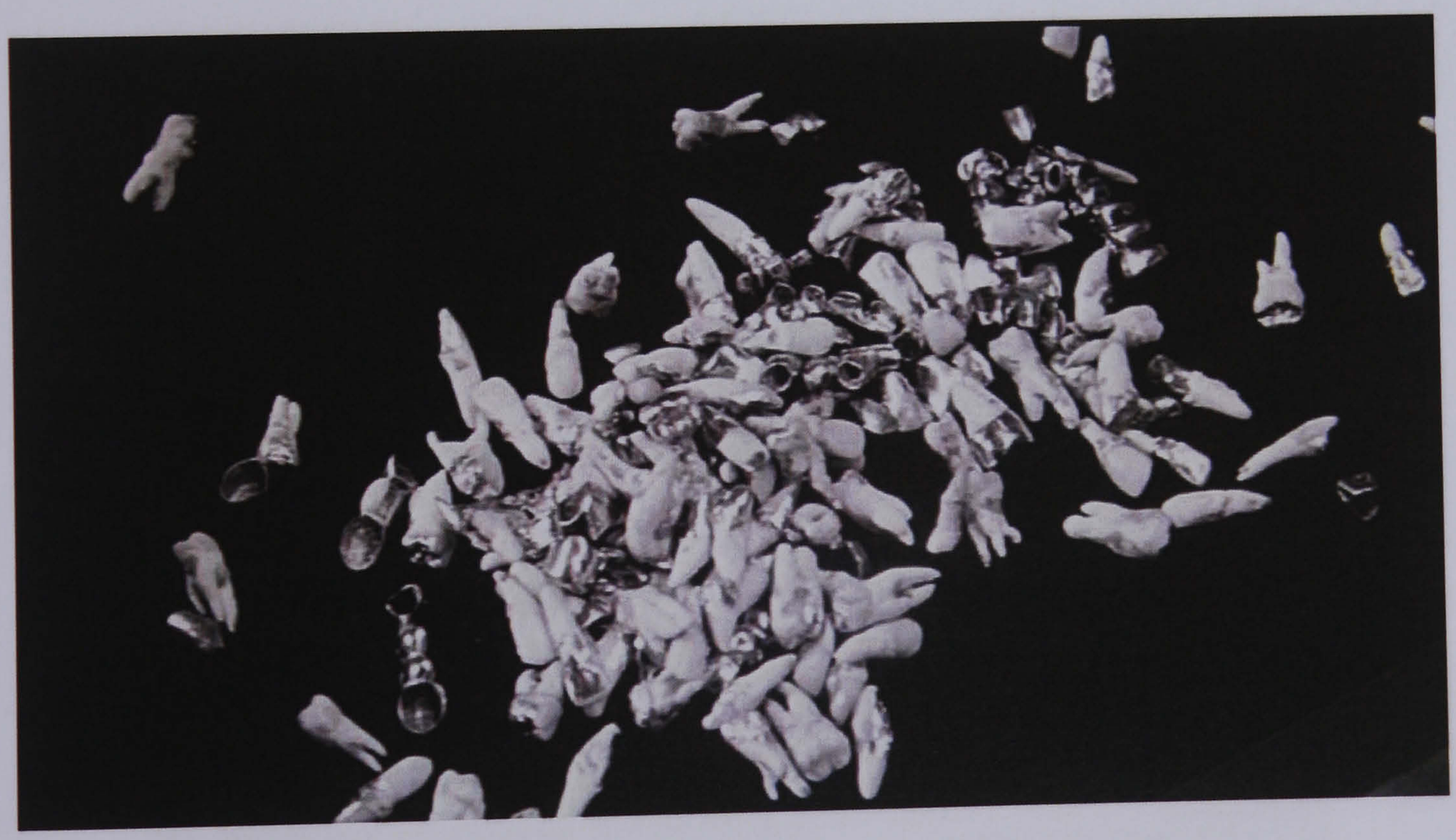
Scene 2: Warehouse
Jewish possessions collected: piles of confiscated luggage (shoes, glasses, photos, watches, golden teeth)



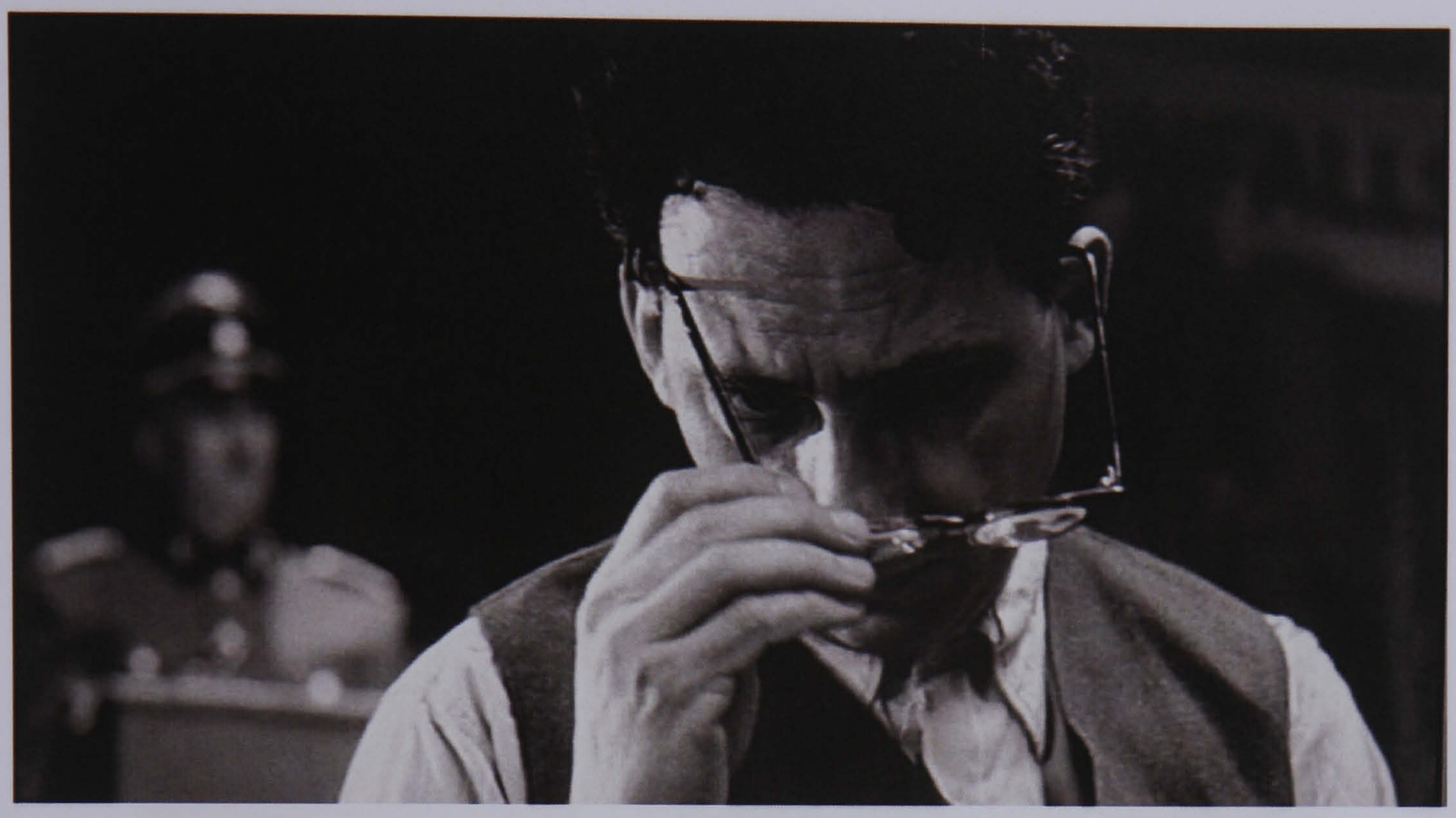
Piles of confiscated luggage

Sorting out valuables

Piles of photographs from confiscated suitcases



Golden teeth extracted from the dead



A Jewish worker shows a look of disbelief in the face of a pile of golden teeth

Shoah Segment 1: A Polish train driver's recollection of the deportation of the Jews

Scene 1: A train arrives at the Treblinka station

A trip from Czestochowa to Treblinka

'Did he hear screams behind his locomotive?'
-'They screamed for water.'

The train operated by Gawkowski arrives at Treblinka

Scene 2: An interview with Henrik Gawkowski, a Polish train driver, who drove the Jewish deportees' carriages from Warsaw to the Treblinka station

'Can one get used to that?'-'Without drinking, they couldn't have done it.'

After viewing segment 1 from each film, the following questions were asked:

(a) Is there any difference between the two films?

(a)-1 Which film clip is more real?

(b) Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened? Tell me why.

Compared to the Russian Revolution task, the two film clips used in the Holocaust task are not starkly different in terms of production period. What differentiates the two films are visual conventions drawn not so much from different eras of film making as from deliberate choices made by Spielberg and Lanzmann, who are contemporaries. Although the scene in *Shoah* also featured the last journey for the Jewish deportees filmed in the present through employing the former train driver, the purpose of the film did not lie in representing the tragedy through images. While *Schindler's List* aimed to provide the audience with the illusion of 'being there' through a visually spectacular text, *Shoah* set out to deal with the issue of the 'limits of representation' through eyewitnesses' memories and images of absence

(see two still images below)[30].

A crematorium in Auschwitz covered with snow

A street in Warsaw (one of the Jewish ghetto sites)

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[30] These two still photographs of *Shoah* are examples of representing the past through what is left in the present. While the first image was part of Segment 2 used in this study, the second image was not shown to students.

Apart from the 'image of absence versus image of resurrection' (Loshitzky, 1997:110), another factor for the selection of the film segments aligns with the way the two films communicate with audiences.

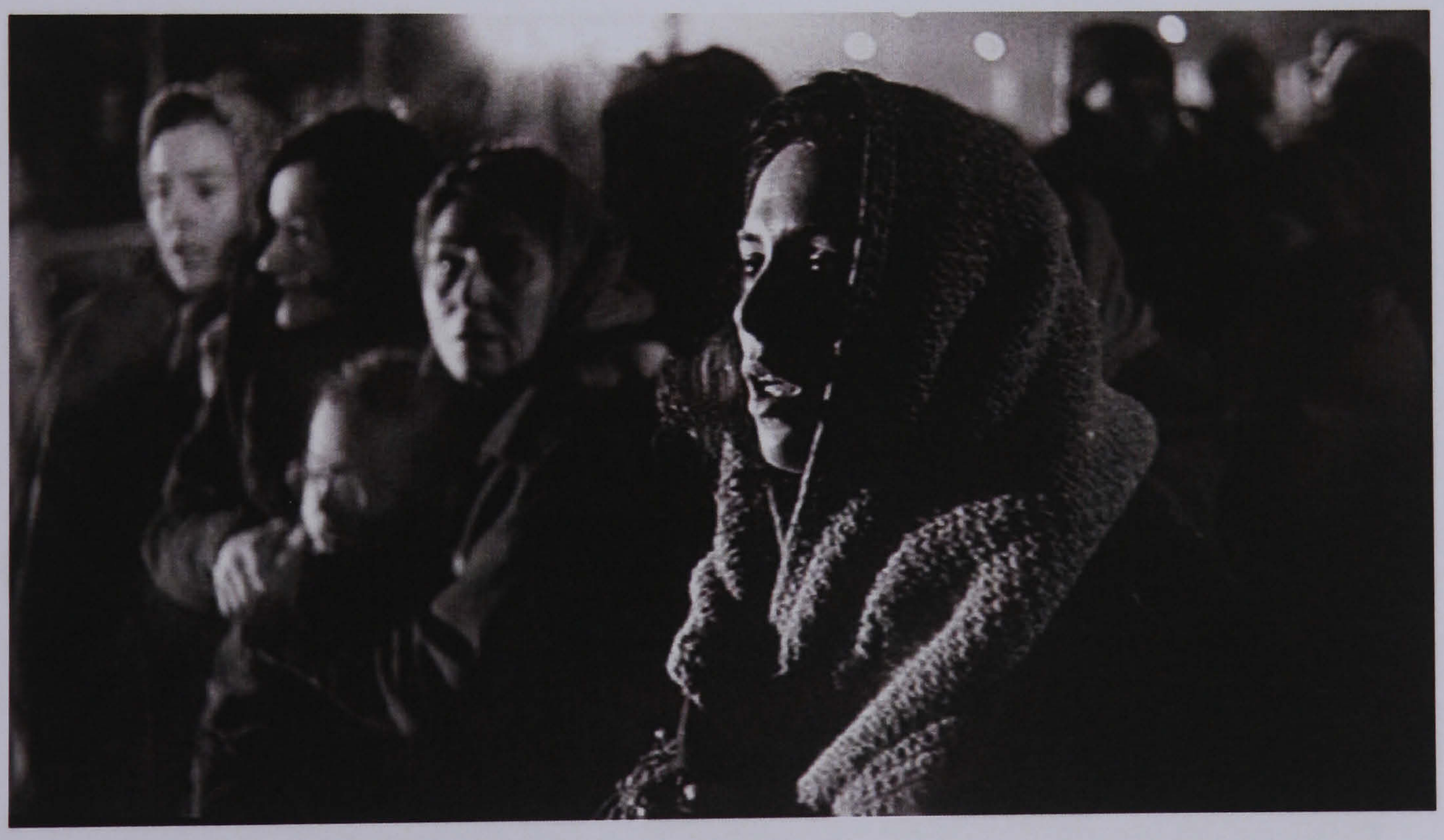
Schindler's List Segment 2: Women in Auschwitz – Schindler's female workers have been mistakenly deported to Auschwitz

Scene 1: Women on the deportation train Women pushed into a train while being deported to Treblinka

A kid, who is making a gesture (draws finger across his throat), 'You are dead.'

Scene 2: Auschwitz
The train, loaded with the women and children, stops at Auschwitz concentration camp

'Everybody out!'; Schindler's female workers arrive at Auschwitz



Women are terrified by the sight of a huge chimney and smoke

Scene 3: Deported women get through near-death experience
Women getting hair cut, undressing, thrown into a dark room, where they are sprayed with water

Women are herded into the 'disinfection area', where their hair is shaved

Women are told to get undressed before entering a huge room with pipes on the ceiling

They are showered by water instead of by gas in the dark room

Scene 4: Schindler rescues women and children

Children are separated but Schindler steps in: 'They are my workers!'

Scene 5: A re-union of the families (Brinnlitz Munitions factory)

Women arrive at Brinnlitz

***Shoah* Segment 2: A Jewish survivor's account of gassing in Auschwitz**

Scene 1: An interview with Filip Müller, a Jewish 'special work detail', who worked at Auschwitz gas chambers.

Filip Müller, 'in the death struggle, a father didn't realise his son lay beneath him.'

The interview questions after viewing the Segment 2 from each film were as follows:

2-(a) Is there any difference between the two films?

- If the answer is 'No', what is the same? And how is this possible?
- If the answer is 'Yes', how do they differ? And how are such differences possible?

2-(b) How is it that we have different historical accounts? Is it possible to decide which story is a better representation of a past event? If so, how would you decide?

As seen in *Schindler's List* Segment 2 and *Shoah* Segment 2 (the account of the gas chamber), while the scenes in *Schindler's List* showed the rescue of the wrongly deported Jewish women in a sensational way – including the infamous shower scene – those in *Shoah* evoked horror through the oral recollection of a former inmate of the camp, the so-called 'special detail', who were forced to work in order to speed up the process of gassing. As Bartov (1997: 47) argues, *Schindler's List* focused on a unique tale at the expense of the actual plight of Holocaust victims: 'considering the ignorance of many viewers regarding the historical context in which this tale took place, the film actually distorts the "reality" of the Holocaust, or at least leaves out too many other "realities".' Moreover, as Hansen (1997: 81) cautiously points out, the narrative employed in *Schindler's List* is likely to promote it as 'representative' as if 'it encapsulate[d] the totality of the Holocaust experience.' In contrast, by featuring various types of witnesses, who reveal discontinuities between the historical actors' interpretations of the events, *Shoah* escapes a final reading of history. As Ellsworth (1997: 112) elaborates, 'his [Lanzmann's] job is to construct a filmic mode of address capable of placing his audience within the interminable process of encountering these discontinuities.'

In short, as the debate on filmic representation of the Holocaust has delineated, *Schindler's List* attempted to create 'cinema memory' through the 'reality effect', relying on recycled images associated with the Nazis. In sharp contrast, *Shoah* dealt with the 'historical crisis of witnessing' through questioning the very possibility of accounting for the Holocaust. As Ellsworth (1997: 121) suggests, Lanzmann's approach to the project of a retrospective account functions as bearing witness to the failure of ready-made cultural discourses about the Holocaust, through 'perform[ing] the historical and contradictory double task of breaking

of the silence and of the simultaneous shattering of any given discourse [...]' (Felman and Laub, 1992: 224, quoted in Ellsworth, 1997: 117).

Importantly, even though the selection of film clips considers the critics' approaches to the two films in question, it is misleading to say that the segments shown to students necessarily reflect a dichotomy between popular and philosophical tales. Most of all, the viewing experience itself in this study is limited to three pairs of film clips; that is, each segment cannot be seen as 'representative' of the familiar attack on *Schindler's List* in the name of *Shoah* such as 'the old debate of "high" vs. "low," "art" vs. "kitsch," "esoteric" vs. "popular," and "showing" vs. "not showing' (Hansen, 1997:97, 99). Apart from the criteria for selection of the film segments, there are more factors which account for students' understandings of conflicting pictures of the past, and these will be discussed in the following data analysis chapters.

In the case of the third pair of film clips, again, the opposition of words versus images remained the same. However, as illustrated in *Schindler's List* Segment 3 and *Shoah* Segment 3, the contrast between the two films also lies in the particular perspective from which the liquidation of a ghetto was depicted. The opposition between the two films in terms of their genre (documentary versus drama), like neutral reporting versus subjective reconstruction, does not neatly fit this pair of film clips. In particular, the question of neutrality in documentaries came into force since Lanzmann's position became visible as a merciless interrogator.

Schindler's List Segment 3: The liquidation of the ghetto

Scene 1: Amon Goeth's speech (Plaszow)

Amon Goeth talks to the soldiers about how the Jews have flourished over the years and that by nightfall their hard work will be forgotten.

'Today is history. Today will be remembered. You are part of it.'

Scene 2: The evacuation of the ghetto

A round-up of a whole apartment building

A little girl in a red coat: Schindler watches as the girl slowly wander away, unnoticed by the SS

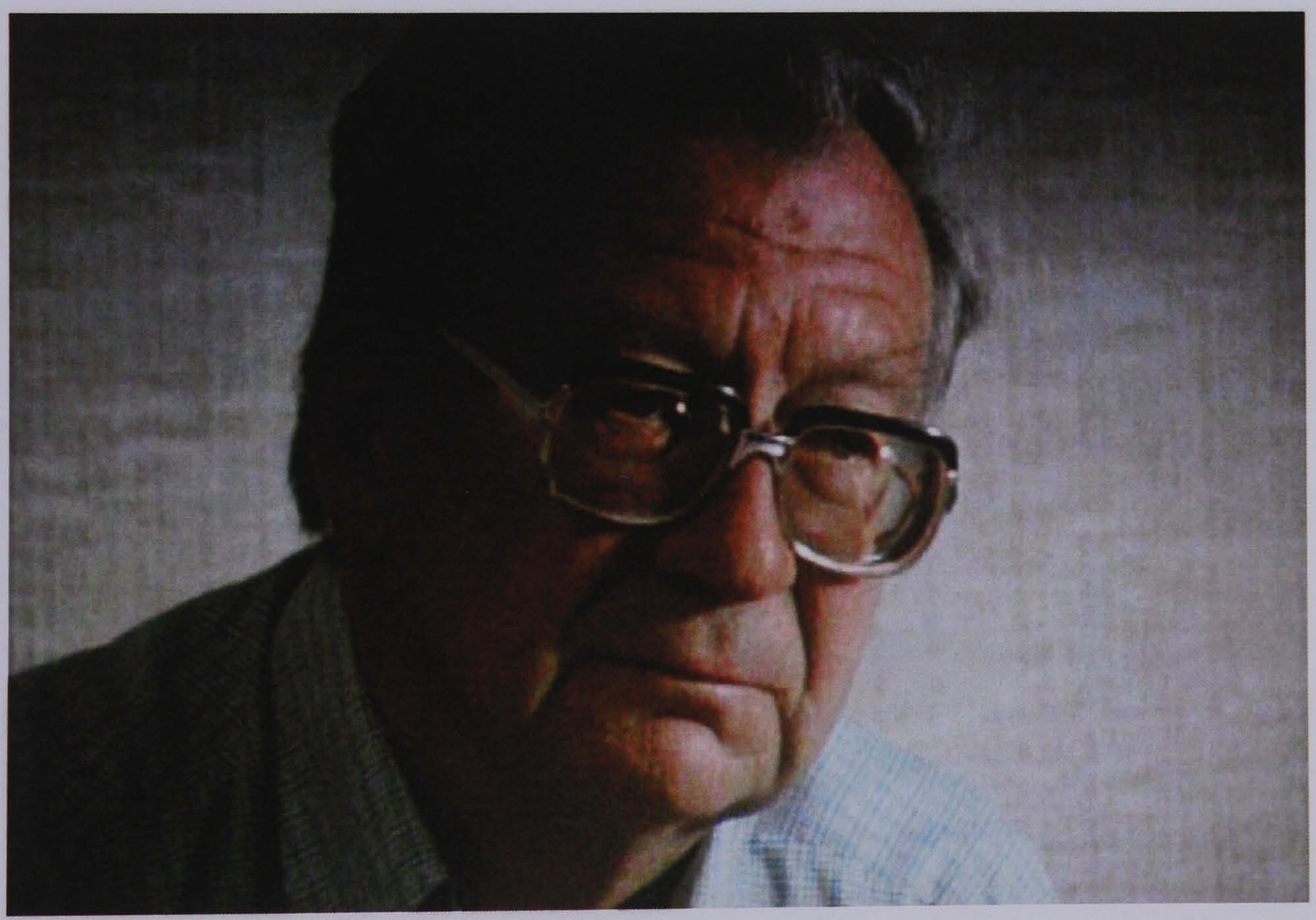
Scene 3: A night search through hide-outs

Many Jews attempted to hide, and most are found and killed by nightfall

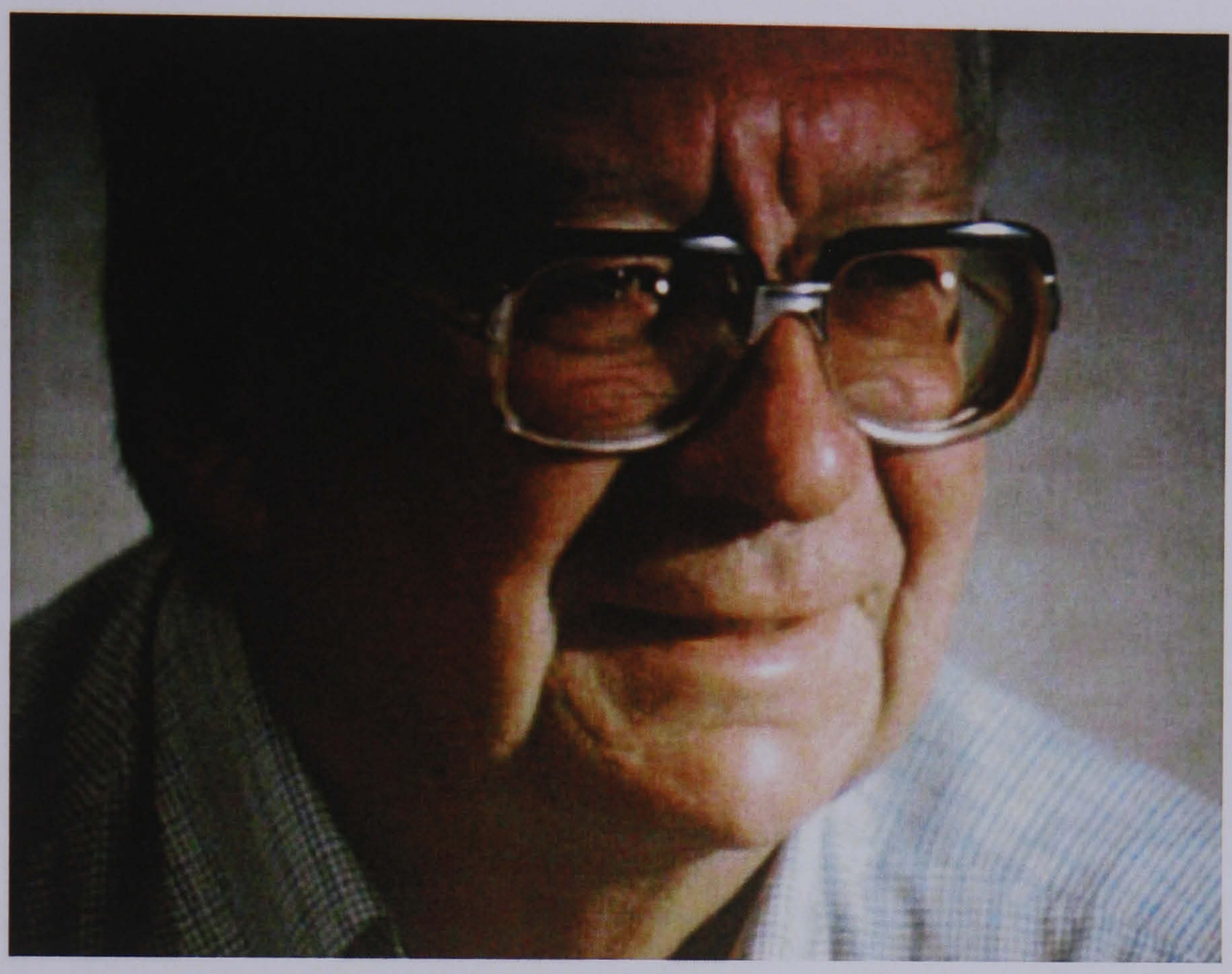
A German officer playing the piano during a night search

Shoah Segment 3: An account of running the Warsaw ghetto (Germany)

Scene 1: An interview with Dr. Franz Grassier (Germany), deputy to Dr. Auerwald, Nazi commissioner of the Warsaw ghetto



'Did you think this idea of ghetto was a good one? A sort of self-management?'-'That's right.' 'But it was self management for death, wasn't it?' – 'We know that now. But at the time...I didn't know then what I know now.'



'What did you do after the war?'
- 'I published a mountain climbers' magazine.'

It is often noted that *Shoah* is not a 'neutral' representation of the Holocaust in that 'his [Lanzmann's] aim […] was to create a structure, a mold, which could serve as a generalization of the (Jewish) people' (Bartov, 1997: 55). Even though the two films' approaches to the event are contrasting, the narratives of both films can be seen as tools to frame the events in a particular way: 'both directors […] submit the experience of the Holocaust to the Zionist perspective, which see the creation of the State of Israel as a process of secular redemption' (Loshitzky, 1997: 115). Of course, the film clips used in this study did not include the more visible Zionist elements of the final scenes – the survivors' (Schindler's employees and their descendents') pilgrimage to Schindler's grave (*Schindler's List*) and an interview with the former ghetto fighter set in the Holocaust memorial in Israel (*Shoah*). Again, the contrasting (or common) elements of the selected scenes are not the only factors that might determine the way students make sense of the film segments. As a result, students' account of criteria for better representations of the event can be attributed to either some characteristics of a particular film clip or (if they make a further move) the way they place each clip in the context of their wider understandings of the film as a medium for

representing the past in the present.

As was the case with the Russian Revolution task, written sources were provided in an attempt to explore the way students come to grips with the role the present plays in representing the past (see the box below).

Source H-1

Both my father and mother were survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto and the Nazi concentration camps. […] I do not remember the Nazi Holocaust ever intruding on my childhood. […] I sometimes think that American Jewry "discovering" the Nazi Holocaust was worse than its having forgotten. True, my parents brooded in private; the suffering they endured was not publicly validated. But wasn't it better than the current crass exploitation of Jewish martyrdom? […] it has been used to justify criminal policies of the Israeli state and US support for these policies. […] In the face of the sufferings of African-Americans, Vietnamese and Palestinians, my mother's credo was: "We are all holocaust victims". […] And isn't the normal history of humankind replete with horrifying chapters of inhumanity?
– Norman Finkelstein, 'The Business of Death', in Guardian, 12th. July. 2000

Source H-2

If you refuse to share the earth with other races […] Whites, you have pity for the fate of white. Europeans, you inflate a family quarrel into a world war and crime without limitation. […] you elevate the Jews – that is, your own – to the dignity of a condemned race or of chosen martyrs, in order to make people forget, by your one-time ordeal, the cruelties that you have never ceased to inflict upon the races of the south […] echoed and amplified by the huge force of the media at your disposal […] in spite of all your efforts, the manipulation has failed […] it is humanity itself that bursts out laughing, and which says that *your* disaster is not *its* business (Finkielkraut's italics)
– Vergès's defence for Klaus Barbie, quoted in A. Finkielkraut (2000), 'Remembering in Vain: The Klaus Barbie Trial and Crimes against Humanity', in O. Bartov (ed.), *The Holocaust: Origins, Implementation, Aftermath*, London and New York: Routledge, pp.273-301.

Both sources above raised the question of the use of the past, though with different emphases on the way the Holocaust is articulated with issues of the day: in the case of Source H-1, the commodification of the past, and in the case of Source H-2, judicial past. Most of all, what underlies both sources is the question as to the uniqueness of the Shoah: Is the Holocaust comparable to any other atrocity in human history?; if so, why has the so-called 'Shoah business' continuously occupied a place in cultural memory, particularly in the filmic past?

The following questions were asked on the basis of written sources.

3. (After providing Segments 3 from each film and written sources)

(a) Which image of the Nazi officer in the two films[31] is more convincing?

- Tell me why.

(b) To what extent do you agree with written sources 1 and 2?

(c) If the directors had confronted criticism like these written sources [1 and 2], would they have made the films in a different way?

- If the answer is 'No', then why not?
- If the answer is 'Yes', then in what ways?

The questions intended to identify students' assumptions about the historical dimensions of the current filmic past as well as to explore the way they themselves relate to the significance of accurate historical representation. As Dean (2006: 276) argues, central to discussions about the Holocaust and its aftermath is not so much the event itself as 'our relationship to that event and how it defines current perceptions of victimization, suffering, and identity.' The third pair of film clips selected for the Holocaust task shows the extreme nature of genocide (in the case of *Schindler's List*) as well as the so-called 'banality of evil' (in the case of *Shoah*). For instance, as shown in *Schindler's List* Segment 3, one of the Nazi officers absorbed himself in playing the piano downstairs while the slaughter was happening upstairs. In the case of *Shoah*, the image of the former ghetto deputy head was normalised as Hitler's 'unwilling' executioner. In this respect, the last part of the Holocaust task concerns the question of how to come to grips with a limited case in history, moving beyond a simple condemnation of the perpetrators, or a mere commemoration of the victims.

On the other hand, Source H-2 drawn from the defence for the former Nazi Klaus Barbie trial, pays attention to the issue of comparability between the Holocaust and other Human atrocities, dangerously aligning itself with a certain aspect of revisionism in post-Holocaust history. To a certain extent, this line of argument in Source H-2 chimes with the main points made by the author of Source H-1 such as the so-called 'surfeit of memory' and its political

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[31] Students were asked to compare the image of the Nazi officer playing the piano in *Schindler's List* Segment 3 and that of the former ghetto deputy head interviewed by Lanzmann in *Shoah* Segment 3.

use. In other words, if the Shoah is not unique in Human history, why is so much emphasis put on the extermination of European Jewry? This line of enquiry into Holocaust representation can be seen as part of the proliferation of discussions about the relationship between history and memory, and its implications for the wider public.

At first sight, the written sources in the Holocaust task are different from those in the Russian Revolution task (see p.101) in that both sources H-1 and H-2 explicitly touched upon the question of a 'practical past' especially in terms of the claims of history in an everyday sense rather than in a disciplinary way. In particular, the past events drawn in Source H-2 can be seen as the so-called living past in that the past objects are 'recalled for use from where they lie in the present and understood and valued for what they have to offer in current practical engagements' (Oakeshott, 1999 [1983]: 41). Moreover, the form of the material itself (a newspaper article and a court record) can provide students with an opportunity to encounter the way the past is appropriated for present polemics and interests. Of course, in the case of the Russian Revolution task, Source R-1 was an excerpt from an interview with a Russian citizen, voicing concern with everyday life in the Post-Soviet era. However, the pair of sources in the Russian Revolution task illustrates conflicting (if not incompatible) views on the legacy of the October Revolution in terms of conceptual issues such as intrinsic/extrinsic historical significance and the possible categories of evaluation of the event. In contrast, in the case of the Holocaust task, both sources mainly centre on the issue of the exploitation of collective memory and the manipulation of history rather than begging the question of how to grasp the larger conceptual and causal pattern of the event.

In this section, the characteristics of materials used in the Holocaust task and the grounds for the selection have been discussed (for the grounds for the selection of the materials used in the Russian Revolution task, see Chapter 4). Taken together, both tasks are intended to explore the ways in which students interpret a filmic past: from identifying similarities and differences between a given pair of film clips through deciding better historical representations to grounding their decision. In the following section, a framework for data analysis will be presented via an illustration of the analytical decisions made at each stage of coding.

5.4. Analytical procedures of data interpretation

All interview responses were transcribed[32] for an initial close reading of data. As was the case with the pilot study, initial coding was implemented through focusing on a sub-sample of the data. The early analysis took its direction from the categories provided by the pilot study. As illustrated in the last section of Chapter 4, the findings of the pilot study need to be seen as a provisional analysis, which requires further scrutiny – the categories used for the pilot study were generated on the basis of only one task, the Russian Revolution set. However, the initial categories in the pilot study offered a promising basis for organising the analysis in the main study; those categories suggested a focus for comparison across the tasks. Of course, this study did not intend to make a comparison between the two tasks (as such) since there was no group of students who participated in both tasks. Rather, identifying similarities and differences between two tasks did shed a light on the coding of responses in each task.

Initially, one group of students in each age group (age between 12-14 and 15-17) from each task was selected as a sub-sample. This process enabled the researcher to map out the framework within which further analytical processes could be undertaken. Certainly, in the case of the Russian Revolution set, the categories identified in the pilot study provided a range of angles from which the responses could be analysed. This does not mean that categories from the pilot study determined the coding process. Rather, constant comparisons generated a new range of categories, which also offered reflections on the previous analysis. In the following, the process of generating and reformulating categories will be discussed.

First, the factors as determinants of differences in filmic representations were identified on the basis of the analysis of responses to the question; this was followed by a viewing of the first pair of film clips in each task (for detailed analysis, see Chapter 6). Initially, students' responses to **Question 1 ('What is the difference between the two films?')** were coded on the basis of their own words such as 'real-life versus fiction' and 'objective versus

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[32] Students' responses transcribed in Korean were translated into English by the researcher. Given the cultural and linguistic differences, it was difficult to reproduce Korean teenagers' colloquial language here as English teenagers' colloquial language; the main criterion has been to preserve the sense as accurately as possible.

subjective'. In addition to these '*in vivo codes*' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 69), some concepts were drawn from other research on students' historical thinking such as 'perspective-free versus perspectival' (Barca, 2005) and 'explanatory power versus human understanding' (Boix-Mansilla, 2005). This process was followed by comparison with students' responses to **Question 2 ('Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened in the past?')**, integrating a range of reasons for their choice into specific categories.

Some responses which indicated that students were reluctant to choose a better film were also taken into account as an indicator for students' identification of factors for different historical representations. For example, responses giving credit to both films ('It would be better, if we could combine testimony [in *Shoah*] with dramatisation [in *Schindler's List*]') were also coded as 'first-hand experience versus second-hand reconstruction'. On the other hand, a few respondents who considered the filmic past as a product of the film director's whim, are categorised as 'films are all construction' (for further discussion, see Chapter 10). Unlike a few students, who were not able to recognise contrasting elements of the two films, when probed further, these students were confident in comparing a given pair of films in various ways. Therefore, their explanation of factors of different representations was also coded. Moreover, analysing the detail of each film clip, these students tended to show signs of a high level of media literacy. Not surprisingly, some categories were more salient in one task rather than the other; for instance, 'first-hand versus second-hand' appeared only in the Holocaust set while 'neutrality versus partisanship' was prominent in the Russian Revolution set. At this point, the borderline between categories still remained inconclusive.

Second, the factors as determinants of differences in historical accounts were mapped out on the basis of students' responses to **Question 3 ('How is it that we have different historical accounts?')** (for detailed analysis, see Chapter 7.1). In this task, an emphasis was placed on the question of how different historical accounts are produced in historical study. However, since this task followed discussions about better filmic representation of the past, it was expected that some students' responses were shaped by the previous task, segueing filmic representations with historical representations in general. As was the case with Question 1, students' responses were grouped according to their own words such as 'opinion', 'bias', and

'perspective'. The process of grouping was subject to a closer examination of what students meant by such words, leading to the production of a more refined categories.

An initial coding revealed that a range of responses to this question broadly concurred with previous research on students' ideas about historical accounts (Lee and Ashby, 2000; Lee, 2004; Lee and Shemilt, 2004). Specifying each category, attention was paid to students' underlying assumptions about how historical knowledge came into being. As a result, some categories were broken into subsidiary categories: for instance perspective factor was divided into two such as '"inherited" perspective' and 'perspective as cognitive tool'. At this stage, some border cases remained undecided, leaving these to further analysis of the following responses to **Question 4 ('Is it possible to decide which story is a better representation of a past event? If so, how would you decide?')** (for detailed analysis, see Chapter 7.2).

Of course, this does not mean that the process of coding the responses to Question 4 was entirely based on the categories of responses to Question 3. Rather, generating provisional categories for Question 4 was carried out in its own terms. It was not until a later stage of coding that the relationship between the responses to the two questions was identified. For instance, the responses categorised as 'arbitrating and approximating interpretations' tended to belong to students who fell into the category of 'perspective as a cognitive tool' or 'the nature of historical accounts' for Question 3, while 'consulting sources' or 'separating facts from opinions' tended to belong to those who fell into the category of 'a matter of "opinion"' or '"inherited" perspective'. Again, the relationship between categories across the two questions remained provisional. However, it is noteworthy that the result of coding of responses to Question 4 helped the researcher to identify some questions to pursue, subjecting the categories of responses to Question 3 to a closer enquiry: for example, behind the idea of 'about the same thing' lay more complex ideas than appeared (for detailed analysis, see Chapter 10).

Third, the generation of categories for the factors for altering representations of the past was based on students' explanation of revision in history **(Question 5: changing filmic past)**. This question touched upon different aspects of changing the past across two tasks:

retrospective judgement of significance (in the case of the Russian Revolution set, see Chapter 8.1); the limits of the relativity of historical representations (in the case of the Holocaust set, see Chapter 8.2). For instance, the issues raised in written sources selected for each task as well as the nature of the events in question are likely to give rise to different responses: while the Russian Revolution tends to be subject to re-interpretation following the disintegration of the USSR, the Holocaust is considered as a limiting case in history. In other words, unlike analysis of responses to previous questions such as the differences between the two films and factors for better historical representations, categories generated by this question were far more task-specific. However, contrasting elements of categories identified within each task were taken into account, channeling the differences into pursuing generative questions: Is there any difference between the two tasks in terms of the extent to which students set the limits of the relativity of historical representation?; If so, how do students make sense of revision in history, taking into account the issue of relativity to the present? As a result, the contrasting responses to written sources across two tasks gave rise to further analysis of students' approaches to objectification[33] of the past (see Chapter 9).

Finally, a decision to follow particular students' responses across different questions was made, in an attempt to identify a picture of an individual's historical thinking: that is, a shift from analysis in terms of incidence of ideas at category level to analysis at individual level (see Chapter 10). Attention was paid to a particular student's ideas about the relationship between the role of perspective in historical study and the modification of historical representations, since initial coding showed that there was a set of ideas at work. Importantly, conducting a cross-task analysis led the researcher to re-visit initial coding, examining some border cases in each section of the interview in a new light. Most of all, tracking the ways each student made a move across questions also allowed the researcher to relate categories in one strand to those in another: to use Strause and Corbin's (1990: 116) phrase, 'validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development.'

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[33] The term here denotes an attempt to convert the past into an object of the present either in historical study or in other forms of historical representation

Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodological framework for this study by providing a rationale for the selection of research methods, which employed analytical procedures based on 'grounded theory'. In addition, the selection of the film clips for the Holocaust task and its rationale were discussed (for a description of the film clips used for the Russian Revolution task, see Chapter 4.3). This was followed by a description of the participants and participating schools for the main study, with an emphasis on contextualising the research setting (for a further discussion on the way in which South Korean context shaped the main findings, see Chapter 11.1.2). While Chapter 3 provided an overview of the socio-political context of history education in South Korea, the second section of this chapter has focused on delineating the context of the research site in terms of the participants' and the gatekeepers' conceptions of the task and the researcher. The chapter concluded with an illustration of the analytical decisions made at each stage of data interpretation, with a focus on generating categories both within a task and across different tasks. In the following chapters, analyses of students' responses to each task (in the case of Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9) and a cross-task analysis (in the case of Chapter 10) will be provided.

Chapter 6. Students' approaches to different representations of the past

This chapter explores the way in which students approach different filmic representations. After students had watched the first two pairs of films clips (in the case of the Russian Revolution task, only the first pair), they were asked to compare the two films in each task ('Is there any difference between the two films?') and to choose the better representation of the event in question ('Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened?').

Students' comparisons of the films, with a particular focus on the factors that were perceived to give a film a more accurate representation, were categorised. The table on the following page shows the number of students' responses that belong to each category within each task. Overall, students' responses to a set of films mirrored the way in which they came to terms with the question of 'ideal' representations of the past. In this chapter, students' ideas about the factors that determine better representations of the past are illustrated.

Numbers in table and chart in the following chapters represent the number of students with responses falling into each category. The total number of categorised answers (N) in each Figure is fewer than the total number of participants as each Figure omits the 'no response' category. There are cases in which one student was double-coded as each part of his or her answer falls into different categories. In the case of responses charted below, twelve students grounded their decision for a better representation on more than one factor.

In the following extracts, R and H denote the Russian Revolution task and the Holocaust task respectively. L denotes lower secondary (middle school) students (12-15 year-olds), U denotes upper secondary (high school) students (15-17 year-olds). The participating institution is codified by letters such as A and B – e.g. (Extract R-L2-A): Middle School A, Year 2, for the Russian Revolution task. The students' names are preceded by indicators of the task group and age group to which the student belongs, as well as a number given to them for coding. Students' sex and age are also included, in round brackets. In addition, words in bold print and in italics in each response denote indicators for coding: the former indicates grounds for the students' choice of the better representation of the past, while the

latter denotes factors that were perceived to shape a film into a less faithful rendition of the past. As can be seen in Table 6.1, some factors students took into account in comparing two films are task-specific. For instance, while the category of 'first-hand versus second-hand knowledge' appeared in the Holocaust task, the category of 'partisanship versus neutrality' manifested itself in the Russian Revolution task.

Table 6.1. Selection of factors that determine a better representation of the past
(omitting the 'no response' category)

Categories	Russian Revolution	Holocaust	Total for both film pairs in each school type	Overall number of responses
1.neither film is better (films are all construction)	U:1	L:1 U:1	L:1 U:2	3
2.actual vs. ideal 2.1 actual vs. abstract	L:3 U:5	L: 1 U: 5	L: 4 U: 10	28
2.2. real-life vs. fiction		L: 5 U: 3	L: 5 U: 3	
2.3. natural vs. artificial		L: 1 U: 5	L: 1 U: 5	
3.first-hand vs. second hand knowledge 3.1.eye-witness account as full truth		L: 7 U: 5	L: 8 U: 10	18
3.2.eye-witness account as partial truth		L: 1 U: 5		
4.perspective-free vs. perspectival 4.1.neutrality vs. partisanship	L: 3 U: 9		L: 3 U: 13	16
4.2. 'objectivity' vs. 'subjectivity'		U: 4		
5. structural explanation vs. human understanding 5.1. explanatory power	L: 5 U: 6		L: 9 U:17	26
5.2. micro history	L: 3 U: 6	L: 1 U:5		
Total	41	50		N=91

The chart below shows the number of students' responses drawn from the two tasks falling into each analytical category. The chart also shows differences in responses from students attending lower and upper secondary schools.

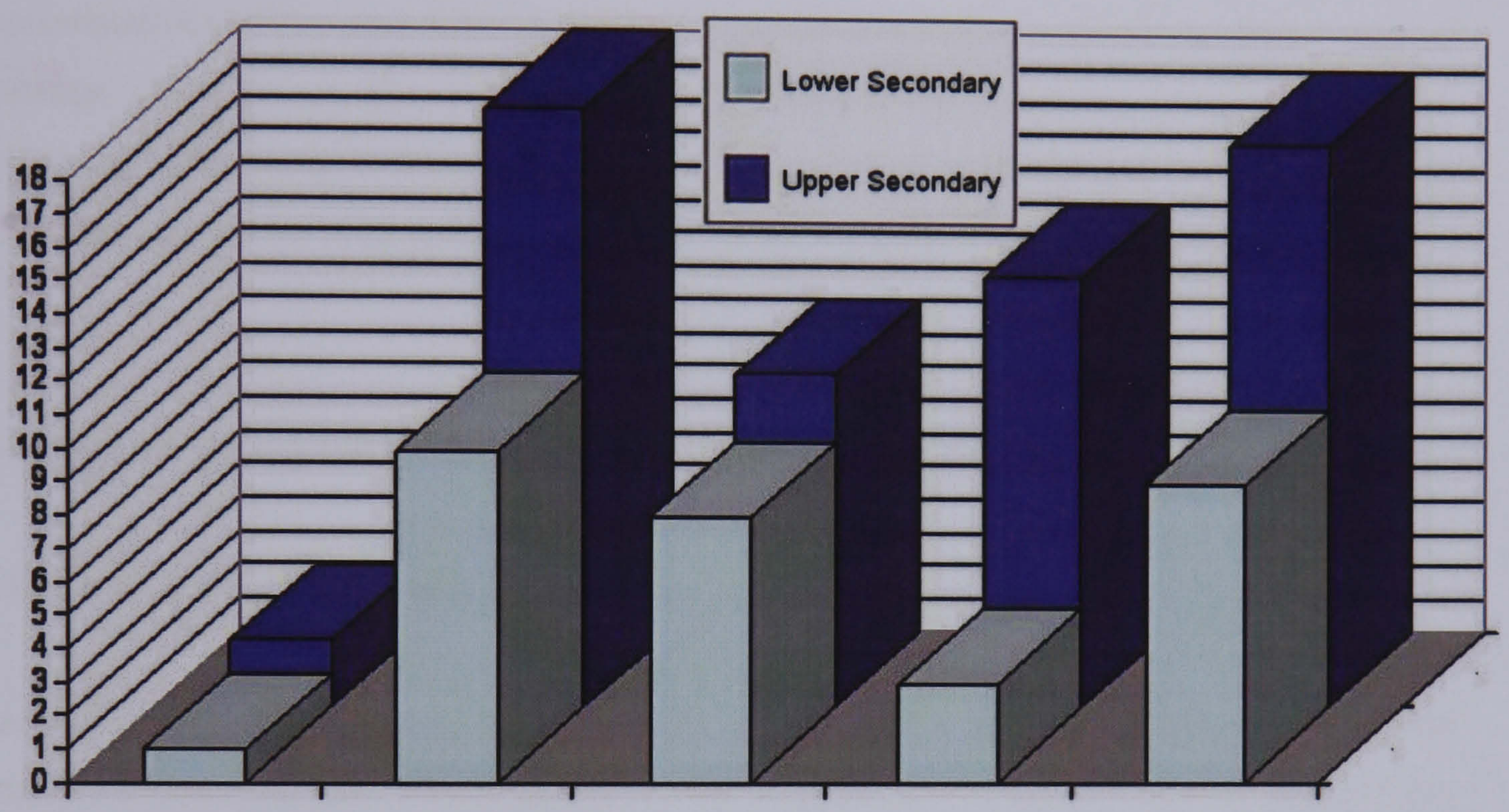

Figure 6.1. Selection of factors that determine a better representation of the past (numbers of responses by school type)

As illustrated in Figure 6.1, compared to categories 1 and 3, the number of responses that belonged to categories 2, 4 and 5 showed disparity across the age groups. In the case of category 2, apart from the sub-category 2.2 (real life vs. fiction), more high school students weighed up the films either in terms of the use of visual language (category 2.1) or the application of realist tradition (category 2.3). Overall, more older students tended to raise the issue concerned with authorship than younger students did (see the numbers of responses by school type in category 4). It is also older students who compared the films in terms of organising a view of the past with an emphasis on structural explanation (category 5.1) or narrative strength (category 5.2).

There were a few students who were reluctant to choose a 'better' filmic representation of the event (category 1) on the ground that 'films are all construction' (e.g. Young-Bin: films are all about construction. I mean, in the light of the purpose of film making [...] If you want to see 'fact' only, the documentary [*Shoah*] should be better). Unlike Young-Bin (H-L3-1), two other students simply denied any possibility of evaluating cinematic representations of the past without suggesting possible ways to compare the filmic past in question (for a more detailed comment on Young-Bin's response, see p.324). In the following sections, apart from category 1, a discussion of each category will be provided, with an emphasis on what underlies students' judgements about the two films in each task.

6.1. Actual versus ideal (the problem of the non-existent past)

6.1.1. Actual versus abstract

For students in this category, the criteria for a better representation of the event lie in the configuration of the past in its actuality: to what extent a given account corresponds to what originally happened, as in the following two examples. 'To me, the colour film [*Reds*] seemed to make things look prettied up' (R-L2-1, Sang-Jin, F.13); 'The black and white film [*October*] is superb in terms of reality' (R-U2-17, Seong-Hoon, M.16). Responses in this category are primarily concerned with actuality: 'being in process', what was happening at this moment. For them, the past presented in (pseudo) documentary films is more real in the sense that its possible relations to the present are built in. Arguably, in their view, viewing life-like films can be a solution to the problem of the non-existent past since, for them, 'the past studied by historians consists of events which, happily, are still going on "somewhere"' (Dray, 1995: 232) – here, on the screen, overcoming the pastness of the historian's object. In the case of the Russian Revolution task, *October* was selected on the basis of its immediacy and verisimilitude:

> [...] the way of showing how people acted, like, being aroused and gathering, was amazing. **I felt as if I could almost hear them shouting** [...] Particularly,

the mob scene in which angry people joined the anti-war movement. In the case of the colour film [*Reds*], what it showed was just several queues for bread, shoes, etcetera. In contrast, **in the black and white film [*October*], people in the queue collapsed in a graphic way** [...] But, on the other hand, it's also a bit clumsy (R-L2-11, Jin-Young, F.13).

To me, the black and white film [*October*] is the choice. Because the battle scene looks real. You know, a kind of documentary film, which recorded things as it was [...] I mean, it looks authentic, **as if it were shot in the battlefield at that time** (R-U2-9, Young-Jae, M.17).

[...] It seems to me that **black and white film enabled it to configure the atmosphere and circumstances of the period as it really was**, partly because it is a silent film (R-U2-18, Seong-Joon, M.17),

However, it is noteworthy that some students did not endorse *October* in the sense of what Collingwood calls 'silly realism' which treats the past as a 'spectacle' (Dray, 1995: 232-3). In other words, the view they held here did not neglect the question of what it means to represent the past historically:

> To my mind, the black and white film **[*October*] is better in terms of projecting a period feeling, like, a dark and gloomy vision of that period** [...] [in the case of *Reds*] Well, the crowd scene did its job very well. But there are too many redundancies, like the story between the man and the woman (R-L2-4, Ho-Won, F.13).

[...] The style [of *October*] is stunning, showing things vividly, though it's all reconstruction. Because **it shows the situation in flesh and blood**, I could feel more the Russian people's sentiment (R-U2-20, Jeong-A, F.16).

I think it [*October*] is a well-made film [...] There is a kind of purity in it. I

> mean, **the Russian people's belief takes a pure form in the film** (R-U2-25, Mi-Jin, F.16).

While *October* was viewed as a kind of factual record, *Reds* was dismissed as a mere fiction:

> In the case of black and white film **[*October*], there is no frill, I mean, it has got to the point** [...] To my mind, there seem to be *some fictions* in the colour film [*Reds*] (R-U2-15, Min-Hwan, M.16).

> To me, *the colour film [Reds] looks like a fairy tale*. I think that **the black and white film is more real because the way each scene was shot was like a documentary** [...] What it [*Reds*] shows us is a sort of sketch, providing some facts in a superficial way [...] there seem to be some fictions in the colour film (R-U2-16, Jang-Ho, M.16).

However, not all students considered fiction films as inaccurate reconstructions of the past. This was particularly the case with the Holocaust task:

> I know the second film [*Shoah*] is also authentic. But, in the case of the first film [*Schindler's List*], there is more sense of reality in it. I mean, **accompanied by vividness**, it is simply more appealing, more sensual [...] Well, I mean, more truthful (H-L2-10, Jeong-Ki, F.12).

> *What the second film [Shoah] showed is just talk*, while what the first film [*Schindler's List*] showed is ... I think the second film is more real (H-U2-16, Mi-Yeon, F.17).

As seen above, for some, a better representation of the past was equated with a sense of full reality. While Jeong-Ki and Mi-Yeon simply reiterated the reality-effect of *Schindler's List*, A-Ram and Soo-Bin showed disapproval of *Shoah* on the basis of its lack of any reconstruction of the reality:

> What we can get from the second film [*Shoah*] comes from interviews. I mean, we're expected to make sense of the past only through what they said about the event. In contrast, **the first film [*Schindler's List*] provides us with the image of the event,** like, what it was like (H-U2-7, A-Ram, M.16).

> The first one [*Schindler's List*] had content [...] Because (with a big grin) people acted. I mean, *the second film [Shoah] used interview as a method, which seems to convey what happened in an indirect way* (H-U2-13, Soo-Bin, F.17).

As illustrated below, of course, students in this category are aware of the constructed nature of fiction films, pointing out that the narrative of the event in *Schindler's List* was 'acted out' (in Eun-Hye's case below). Furthermore, in the case of *Schindler's List*, what is on the screen is not based on first-hand experience, and thus leads to the question of incompleteness in terms of our knowledge of the past (in Min-Seon's case). However, both students opted for *Schindler's List*, one on the basis of its substantiality (Eun-Hye) and the other for its conclusiveness (in Min-Seon):

> In the case of the first film [*Schindler's List*], what happened at that time was *acted out like a play*. But, still, it's more powerful since we can see the **actual scene**. What I'm trying to say is, *Schindler's List* is **less abstract** (H-U2-17, Eun-Hye, F.16).

> [...] Of course, what he [a Polish train driver in *Shoah*] said is what he lived through, while what we see in the first film [*Schindler's List*] is *a kind of second- hand experience*. Nonetheless, in the first film, we can actually see how things were done at that time, like, how Jewish people suffered, crammed inside a train like tinned sardines. Not only that. There was a scene in which their suitcases were sorted, picking up something valuable and throwing away family photos, which have emotional value. Remember the golden teeth? It's just a few seconds that lasted long enough for me **to get to grips with the whole scale** of the persecution of Jewish people (H-U2-18, Min-Seon, F. 16).

6.1.2. Real-life versus fiction

In this category, the problem of the ideality of history was approached in terms of the opposition of real-life representation versus fictional representation. Initially, what matters is 'real-life' experience:

> The first one [*Schindler's List*] is more real, because it was **based on a real story** (H-L2-2, Seong-Tae, M.12).

> I know that the first one [*Schindler's List*] is a kind of fiction film. Even if so, it was **based on a real story**. In that sense, the first one can be real, too (H-L2-8, Seon-Joo, F.13).

> The second film [*Shoah*] is better [...] Because the director **interviewed real people** (H-U2-21, In-Kyeong, F.16).

Apart from the first two responses above, responses which showed the strong awareness of genre factors selected *Shoah* as the better way of knowing the past.

> The second one [*Shoah*] is...what's the word for it?...Right, a **documentary**! That's the word! [...] You know, *[fiction] films could be made up* [...] As far as I remember, all the documentaries I've seen seem to **show things as they were** (H-L2-11, Ha-Neul, M.12).

> The former [*Schindler's List*] was *re-made* on the basis of what people know about the event. For that reason, it could be different from reality. In contrast, the latter [*Shoah*] is better in terms of **showing what really happened** (H-L2-13, Yeon-Ha, F.13).

> [...] the second film [*Shoah*] describes what happened from the witness's angle, I mean, **on the basis of real experiences**. By contrast with the second one, the first one [*Schindler's List*] was a *cinematic presentation* of the event in the first

place. Having said that, the second film is more real (H-U1-6, Yoon-Ji, F.15).

That [*Schindler's List*] is **a sort of remake** [...] I mean, it was made by someone else, who was interested in the past event. (Int.: The film was based on a real story, and Oskar Schindler was a real person). Even so, there must have been some changes, like, **some differences between the real story and the film** (H-U2-9, Min-Ho, M.16).

As demonstrated above, considerations about 're-making' and 'making-up' are repeatedly stressed, and *Schindler's List* is regarded as a mere cinematic presentation. In the view of these students, knowledge based on direct acquaintance with an event – here, the representation of real-life experience in *Shoah* – makes 'real' history possible. Furthermore, as illustrated below, the historical past reveals itself in the same sense that the present is known to us.

(Extract H-L3-I)

Young-A (H-L3-2, F.14): To me, the documentary is more realistic, because it **brought real people up to the camera and interviewed them**. Moreover, it's all about **what the person went through**. In the case of a film, like *Schindler's List*, there is a tiny possibility of exaggerating something. I said, 'tiny'. Well, given the sensitive nature of the topic, the film would try to tell the story as it really was. But, you know, there is still a little possibility to make it look more serious. In contrast, **the interview form enables people to be more honest** about what happened to them.

Int.: How can you be sure they are telling the truth? Maybe, they simply don't remember what happened the way it did. Or, they might tell a lie…

Young-A: That's possible. But, you know, normally, it takes time to make a documentary. At the beginning, they might be reluctant to tell the truth. But, as times go on, like, the more often a director makes a visit and interviews them, the more truthful answers he can get from them. They might intend to hide something, but, in the end…

Int.: They're bound to tell the truth?

Young-A: Yeah. Do you remember the TV programme, 'We want to know it!'? In that programme, even though the suspects initially make a false testimony, they're pushed to tell the truth by the investigator.

6.1.3. Natural versus artificial

For students in this category, ideal representations of the past are viewed as belonging to the 'realist' tradition in literary works:

> To me, the second one [*Shoah*] is more realistic 'cos the event was represented **in the tradition of realism** [...] I think the first one [*Schindler's List*] looks like a film in every aspect, I mean, something *contrived, like a novel.* In contrast, the second one [*Shoah*] is more **like a newspaper** report, trying to present things in a clear way (H-U2-12, Ji-Woo, F.16).

> Of course, there is a possibility of selection even in a documentary, because the process of editing involves a certain choice. But, still, the documentary [*Shoah*] is more accurate than the film [*Schindler's List*], because **documentaries value factuality more** than fiction films do (H-U2-10, Seong-Mi, F.16).

In addition, the 'realist' way of representing an event requires a view of what is important, not just what is interesting:

> [...] In the first place, it [*Schindler's List*] is a [*fiction] film*, which tends to include some *elements of entertainment.* In contrast, this one [*Shoah*] has less to do with fun, 'cos **real witnesses talked about the event as it had happened** (H-L2-3, Tae-Jin, M.14).

Most of all, documentaries give us a **detailed explanation** step by step while [fiction] films don't [...] In short, it [*Shoah*] **reconstructed the whole situation**. Perhaps, reconstruction is not the right word. In a word, *Shoah* is able to **show what happened in many ways** [...] By and large, *[fiction] films lack*

explanation about the world they have constructed for, for, what's the word for a person who watch films? [...] That's the word, an audience. *In the aspect of passing on information, [fiction] films have limitations*, because it's *all about construction* in the first place (H-U2-18, Min-Seon, F.16).

Furthermore, the artificiality of fiction films is considered to mislead audiences, forcing them to respond to a certain way of reconstruction of the past:

> I mean, [*Schindler's List*] is too artificial. That characteristic would be more visible if you compare this film [*Schindler's List*] with the other film [*Shoah*] [...] But it seems to me that this film [*Schindler's List*] is just pressing the right button in order to make audience feel like crying over the film [...] Of course, this is about a sad event. We're all supposed to be sad. But the way the film presents the event is somewhat *contrived* [...] It [*Shoah*] is scarier because it is **more flat**. How shall I put it? It's hard to imagine this kind of thing could happen, I mean, almost surreal. Let me put it this way. Ordinariness could be a scarier thing to bear (H-U1-9, Yong-Hee, F.16).

> Films [fictions] express the directors' intention, like, trying to *make people believe what is on the screen* as it is. As a result, after watching a film, audiences tend to say, 'That makes sense', or 'It's plausible', or 'That's likely to be a whole picture', like that. In contrast, documentaries provide a room for audiences to make a more **informed decision on the basis of the facts** (H-U2-2, Yong-Woo, M.17).

In this section, the first category of factors ('actual versus ideal') that were perceived to make a film a more faithful reconstruction of the past was discussed. The sub-categories ('actual versus abstract'; 'real life versus fiction'; 'natural versus artificial') illustrated the ways in which students weighed up the films, especially in terms of visual language and genre factors (components of documentaries or fiction films). Students who valued the 'having been there' impact tended to choose *October* and *Schindler's List* as a better representation of the event, drawing attention to their newsreel-like visual accounts. It is also

worth noting that the genre factor (fiction film versus documentary) came into play in deciding which was a more 'authentic' representation of 'experience'. In this respect, *Reds* and *Schindler's List* were dismissed as mere Hollywood tales. In the following section, the second category of factors that determines a better representation of the past will be analysed.

6.2. First- hand versus second-hand knowledge (the problem of incompleteness)

A range of factors illustrated in this section could be attributed to students' notions of 'perfect' (historical) accounts, echoing Danto's 'ideal chronicler'[34]. For some students, maximally detailed and plain narrative produced by an eye-witness can be seen as a perfect account.

6.2.1. Eye-witness account as full truth

Not surprisingly, *Shoah* was viewed as a better picture of the past by these students, since it featured eye-witness accounts. In their view, acceptable historical knowledge can be established on the basis of either experience or observation:

> That [the scene of a train driver] seems to be like reality. I mean, it's convincing because **he has really seen it**. And he said that **he had been there** [...] Because you can be informed of how it all happened through **first-hand experience** (H-L2-12, Yeon-Sil, F.14).

> The second film [*Shoah*] is more real 'cos there was **a witness**, who told what he **had really seen** (H-L2-3, Tae-Jin, M.14).

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[34] According to Danto (1965: 149), an Ideal Chronicler is supposed to have a capacity for instantaneous transcription in that 'everything that happens across the whole forward rim of the Past is set down by him'. Danto (1965: 183) clarifies the problematic nature of a 'full description' to be provided by an Ideal Chronicler by pointing out that 'For the whole point of history is not to know about actions as witness might, but as historians do, in connection with later events and as parts of temporal wholes.'

In the second film [*Shoah*], we **could hear what the person had experienced** [...] Well, in the case of the first film [*Schindler's List*], [...] Even though Schindler was a real person, he was acted out by an actor. I mean, he wasn't telling what he had seen (H-U1-7, Jin-Kyeong, F.15).

In the view of these students, knowledge is achieved by acquaintance: as Dray (1995: 232) puts it, '[knowledge is] a matter of a knower directly "apprehending" an object, the paradigm for this being knowledge of physical objects in sense perception.' On the other hand, some students perceived the testimony as re-experienced memory, echoing either the Freudian conception of working through memory (in Min-Seon's case), or 'what Lanzmann called "incarnation of the truth in the present"' (Loshitzky, 1997: 112) (in Mi-Hee's case):

> Because the second film was **narrated by someone who had actually experienced the situation**. I got a feeling that the person was **going through the event again** while he was talking (H-U2-18, Min-Seon, F.16).

> Because it certainly contains reality [...] You know, what they **talked about is what they had seen.** In a way, what I meant by 'reality' means the same thing what In-Kyeong meant by a form of interview (H-U2-20, Mi-Hee, F.17).

In addition to this tendency to conceive testimony as the return of the past, some students grounded the whole idea of evidence in first-person experience, or better still, 'the first-person order of all claims to knowledge' (Zammito, 2000: 294):

> To me, the second film [*Shoah*] looks more authentic [...] **What he [the train driver] said seems true** (H-L2-7, Eun-Jin, F.13).

> [...] To me, **what he [a train driver] told** is almost unbearable. I mean, the bad smell from behind, something like that (H-L2-9, Sin-Il, M.14).

Most of all, he is the one **who has gone through the situation at that time**.

> That's why he is the **best person to tell** what really happened (H-U2-14, Soo-Ji, F.17).

As shown above, the question of appraisals of the relative trustworthiness of testimony did not arise. However, some younger students began to consider the contingency and fallibility of the 'personal' character of experiences as part of the way in which judgement is reached either in everyday life or in a court of law:

> […] the interview with the Polish guy [in *Shoah*] is far more convincing than the filmic representation of the event [*Schindler's List*] because **he was there at that time**. What he talked about was exactly what had happened to him. In addition to this, there was **no reason for him to hold** something back, telling a lie, **'cos the war had already ended**. Remember? He said he couldn't drive without drinking vodka. What a horrible situation! He must have felt devastated. You know, vodka is bloody strong alcohol […] He is a real person. And he was the one of those parties **who had been involved the event**. That's why **he was likely to know more about the event** (H-L2-4, Min-Soo, M.13).

> In that case [If he is a real Holocaust survivor], the second film [*Shoah*] has got more reality, I guess […] To my mind, he couldn't have told a lie after **going through all the hardship** with his people. There must be something spiritual going on, I guess […] Not only that. Perhaps, Jewish people are too proud to tell a lie (H-L2-1, Ki-Seok, M.14).

> In my view, **witnesses** like those [Holocaust survivors] **would not either forget or tell a lie**. I mean, in the first place, they dare to make a **testimony** about the event. If they have to, they would not dare to tell a lie. If they do that, it's almost like forging history (H-L3-3, Na-Hyeon, F.15).

Overall, responses in this sub-category gave credit to *Shoah* on the basis of its first-hand knowledge of the event. Although some students attempted to interrogate the credibility of the eye-witness (see responses quoted above), most students in this group valued personal

testimony as leading to a reliable account of the event.

6.2.2. Eye-witness account as partial truth

Unlike the previous sub-category, students in this group considered claims to remember the past to be problematic.

> In an interview, there is a **danger of omission**, like **fading memory**. You know, it's possible to feel free to erase **unwanted memory** [...] In the case of the witness [the Polish train driver in *Shoah*], **there was no incentive for him to tell the full truth. I mean, there wasn't enough reason, or pressure for him to try harder to reveal the whole truth**. If there wasn't any pressure, why should he bother to tell people **an unpleasant memory**? Consequently, he might not bring up what he doesn't want to remember, or what he doesn't want to talk about [...] There seemed to be an **inhibition** when he talked. Of course, he must have suffered a lot. But, he was surrounded by much more miserable people whose suffering was beyond description [...] There is something about what he said, like, a kind of **limitation he seemed to admit unconsciously** (H-L2-5, Dong-Han, M.13).

> You know, it is not uncommon to see **individuals missing out** something while they are talking about an event. In contrast, *film-making usually involves vigorous investigations*, checking up relevant sources in details. Moreover, this kind of film [like *Schindler's List*] is based on the facts (H-U1-8, Bo-Ra, F.15).

As suggested above, there can be different types of forgetting. For instance, what concerned Dong-Han is so-called 'repression', which usually takes place either when a person has had a traumatic experience, or due to a strong feeling of guilts. Detecting signs of restraint, Dong-Han regarded the account of the Polish train driver as fallible. In Bo-Ra's view, every human being is prone to the 'normal' kind of forgetting, which involves the loss of information. For her, the collective nature of film-making may enable the film director to recognise error in a similar way in which historians reach conclusions about evidential aptness.

Most of all, it is worth noting that the way of knowing the 'full' truth tends to come down to a matter of 'completeness':

> […] in the case of the second film [*Shoah*], the witness may **not tell the whole reality**. He could **even tell a lie**. In these regards, it would be better to choose a [fiction] film in order to *reconstruct the whole situation* (H-U1-4, Hye-Joo, F.15).

> Well, what the second film [*Shoah*] shows is **just what the person [a train driver] had seen**. The first film [*Schindler's List*] is different in that *it covers what was happening somewhere else* while the Jews were deported, like, the scene in which personal belongings were sorted. In that way, the first film tells not only one thing but also another. In contrast, what the second film [*Shoah*] tells us is what happened in the train, like, people crying for water, which was recounted by the train driver (H-U2-19, Da-Kyeong, F.16).

For Hye-Joo and Da-Kyeong, while *Shoah* is limited in terms of coverage, *Schindler's List* is able to reconstruct a more plausible version of the event on the basis of multiple sources. Noting the problem of relying on a single source, an attempt to recover the past in its completeness was made:

> If the second film **expands its scope more,** revealing what happened at that time in full scale, **all he [each witness] had got through would be equivalent to the whole picture** of the event. If you want, you can insert the [fiction] film [*Schindler's List*] in between (H-U1-3, Song-Hee, F.15).

> I would say that the interview [*Shoah*] is more factual. The thing is that there could be several stories of different people. For example, prisoners in the concentration camp, workers at a gas chamber, and Nazi commanders, were all in totally different positions. Nevertheless, since *Shoah* shows people who got involved with the event, it could be more factual. Moreover, if you **put all the**

> **witnesses together, the truth would emerge**, I guess (H-U1-1, Yong-Hoon, M.16).

Both students suggest that *Shoah* might have been a more conclusive version of events had it contained every 'real' past. In Yong-Hoon's case, there seems to be an awareness that a web of social forces can render the 'same' event radically variant in the experience of divergent witnesses. However, he did not seem to be aware of the question of adjudicating contested claims. He assumed that a 'single' truth would reveal itself through seeking out a 'plurality' of experiences:

(Extract H-U1-H)

> Yong-Hoon (M.16): Even though there are different positions, **the truth must be only one**.
>
> Int.: You mean, if we collect all the testimonies from German officers, and Holocaust survivors, and then, putting those all together…
>
> Yong-Hoon: Unless they tell a lie in a perfect way, **we're bound to know the fact**.
>
> Int.: Are you saying that there must be only one fact?
>
> Yong-Hoon: You know, they all lived through that time. Each party, like persecutors and victims, was involved with the event. That's something you can't change.

Responses in this sub-category (eyewitness accounts as partial truth) assessed the problematic nature of testimonies, attributing their fallibility either to a gap in eye-witnesses' memory or to its narrow scope. Unlike the first sub-category (eyewitness accounts as full truth), responses in this group problematised the role of memory in recounting the past, with an emphasis on the [un]intentional distortion of historical 'truth'. Taken together, responses in this group (first- hand versus second-hand knowledge) tended to prioritise the factor of completeness of knowledge through first-hand experience in deciding on the better representation of the past. For students in this group, the 'true' picture of the past can be completed by combining different bits of information about the past event rather than by formulating a perspective from which the past reality can be reconstructed. In the following

section, an analysis of the third category of factors that determines a better representation of the past will be provided.

6.3. Perspective-free versus perspectival (the perspectival nature of enquiry)

6.3.1. Neutrality versus partisanship (the Russian Revolution task)

Given the nature of the films, it came as no surprise that more responses in the Russian Revolution task were aligned with the factor of 'neutrality versus partisanship' than in the Holocaust task. Initially, in response to the question of differences between the two films, the extent to which each film was distanced from the event was stressed by students:

> The first film [*Reds*] seems to be about Russia seen by Americans, while the second one [*October*] is about Russian people's direct experience [...] particularly, *from the view of the supporters of Lenin* (R-L3-4, Sang-Woo, M.14).

> One [*Reds*] is viewed from a reporter's perspective, like **observing the process** of the Revolution [...] It [*October*] is sort of showing directly what really happened (R-U1-1, Ho-Min, M.15).

In these comments, there is a trace of disapproval of the past as known from a point of view (in Sang-Woo's case), as well as a hint of credence given to an outsider's point of view (Ho-Min's case). Eun-Hwa and Ji-Seon's responses indicate this appraisal in a more explicit way:

> [...] the colour film [*Reds*] looks less contrived, unfolding a series of events through a dialogue between characters. And what the black and white film [*October*] showed us is a kind of skeleton of the event, *making a point like lecturing* [...] I just thought that the colour film [*Reds*] took a more journalistic approach to the event, like keeping a personal diary; like writing down such and such thing, which happened on particular date, and **keeping a record of how it happened** (R-L2-10, Eun-Hwa, F.12).

In my view, the colour film shows what was happening between two main characters, like how they were getting on with each other, setting it against the backdrop of the Russian Revolution [...] In the black and white film... let me think, who is he? Right! Lenin! [...]It *[October] seems to present the idea that Russia became a better country due to Lenin's leadership* (R-U1-4, Ji-Seon, F.16).

In Eun-Hwa's view, *Reds* represented the Russian Revolution in a more balanced way, taking a more journalistic approach, while *October* showed the event in a didactic way. For Ji-Seon, *Reds* does not have any agenda except it presents Jack and Louise's relationship against the epic background, while *October* was produced deliberately to justify the Russian Revolution.

As discussed above, in response to the question of differences between two films, the factors considered as determinants of better representations of the past were manifested in students' comments. In particular, attributing the difference between the films to the country of production, students touched upon the issue of perspective:

(Extract R-U2-F)

Int.: What made the differences?

Joon-Soo (M.15): You know, **the U.S. is a Capitalist country while Russia is [sic] a socialist country**. That would make a difference.

Min-Seop (M.16): I think **it's something to do with ideology**. The films are based on how people in each country live. I mean, **film-making itself reflects how people understand the event**.

Int.: What do you think, Ho-Min?

Ho-Min (M.16): It's got to do with points of view, like from which angle you're seeing the event. I mean, **the perspective of the film seems to determine how things are viewed by audiences**. That's the most critical thing.

With regard to the question of which was the better representation of the event, students

disapprovingly highlighted the factor of the films' origin:

> […]it is unlikely to describe Russia in a positive way 'cos *the U.S. was hostile to the former Soviet Union*, which still held the Communist ideology […] For that reason, the first film [*Reds*] portrays Russia in a negative fashion (R-L3-2, Seung-Cheol, M.15).

> The black and white film *[October] portrayed the Revolution in a positive way because the event was theirs*, anyway […] In the case of the colour film [*Reds*], the Revolution was seen from a foreign perspective. As a result of that, the way **it [*Reds*] described the event was more objective rather than educational,** like [*October*, which is] giving some lessons (R-U1-1, Woo-Jin, M.15).

> Because, in the black and white film, the event was filtered through domestic views, I mean, *the film is 'made in Russia' in the first place*. For that reason, it [*October*] is less realistic than a film shot in an objective way (R-U2-6, Jeong-Min, M.16).

As illustrated above, *Reds* was perceived both as 'biased' (in Seung-Cheol's case) and as 'objective' (in Woo-Jin's case) on the basis of its country of origin, the U.S., which has an interest in the state of affairs (in Seung-Cheol's case), or has no interest at all as a third party (Woo-Jin's case). On the other hand, *October* was regarded as less realistic (in Jeong-Min's case), or too positive (in Woo-Jin's case) in describing the Revolution since the USSR either has an ownership (Woo-Jin: the event was theirs), or has created its own version (Jeong-Min: the event was filtered through domestic view).

On the other hand, dissatisfaction with *October* can be attributed to the background of its production which was introduced to students before viewing. For that reason, some students' view was that *October* was produced in the service of propagandistic, ideological, and political ends:

> Well, you said that the film *[October] had been commissioned by the Soviet*

Government [...] There is something which I feel it not right. I mean, it [*October*] is not objective, particularly in describing Lenin (R-U2-8, Jin-Cheol, M.17).

I also think **the colour film [*Reds*] is better for understanding the age, I mean, the circumstances of the period**. In the case of the black and white film [*October*], the way it shows the age is…for example, the cut in rations was presented with big captions, like one, half, and a quarter. There are more examples, like the scene of the soldiers. What I'm trying to say is that there is more reality in it [*October*]. But, *the way it shows the event is a kind of glamourising, too cool* [laugh]. Therefore, from a more objective point of view, the colour film is better (R-U2-9, Yoo-Hee, F.16).

The film [October] was made in order to commemorate the success of the Revolution, in a very celebrating way. On top of that, it shows Lenin as a heroic figure, as if he implemented the Revolution on his own. In contrast**, the colour film [*Reds*] seems to be more balanced, partly because it was made in the U.S.** For example, it shows the Russian people's concerns at that time, like their anxiety, and how they were concerned about other countries' response to the Revolution. In short, *the black and white film is quite biased, going too far, endorsing Lenin too much* (R-U2-21, Shin-Ae, F.16).

They all shared the idea that *October* is skewed since it came into being as a commemoration of the event. However, unlike Jin-Cheol (for him, *October* was destined to be biased), Yoo-Hee and Shin-Ae addressed other factors which determine a worse or better presentation of the event. In Yoo-Hee's case, what made *October* a worse representation is the way the period was rendered into images: 'a kind of glamourising, too cool' (see Yoo-Hee's response above). In Shin-Ae's case, what made *Reds* a better representation is the way it covered the event: 'it shows the Russian people's concerns at that time, like their anxiety, and how they were concerned about other countries' response to the Revolution' (see Shin-Ae's response above).

Interestingly, *Reds* was considered as skewed by some older students, showing a concern about the issue of relevance:

> The colour film [*Reds*] shows that an American reporter is warmly welcomed by Russian people. And, he is talking about socialism in the U.S. […] It [*October*] is about their own country, about their revolution. In a way, it shows the event in a more objective way, though it's all about their country. In contrast, *in the case of the colour film, all things are seen from an American point of view* (R-U2-3, Joon-Soo, M.15).

> I think the black and white film would be better […] In the colour film, the main character aimed to turn the U.S. into a Socialist country. That's a sort of pretext, which underpinned the film. I mean, *the director's concern is more to do with his [Jack's] dream about socialist nation building in the U.S. than with the Russian Revolution itself.* For that reason, it [*Reds*] was shot centring around what he [Jack] had intended to do in the U.S. rather than what had happened in Russia (R-U2-4, In-Beom, M.16).

In Joon-Soo's judgement, *Reds* is flawed since it was framed in terms of American socialists' concerns, making an 'incorrect' judgement of their importance. Compared to Joon-Soo, In-Beom was less obsessed with the question of whether the 'correct' interpretation was achieved. In his view, *Reds* was created in response to certain questions, applying certain principles of interpretation, in a way which echoes the Collingwoodian account of the perspectivity of history. As D'Oro (2004: 200) elaborates, 'the question to be posed is […] whether one has provided the correct kind of interpretation, one that is appropriate to the subject matter in question.'

6.3.2. 'Objectivity' versus 'subjectivity' (the Holocaust task)

Compared to the Russian Revolution task, fewer students in the Holocaust task framed the issue of better representation in terms of the opposition of 'perspective-free' versus 'perspectival', partly because of the strong presence of the genre factor. However, a few

students viewed *Shoah* as 'too subjective', acknowledging the danger of the illusion created by documentary films, masquerading as an 'objective' depiction of 'reality':

> To me, the second film [*Shoah*] is *too self-conscious, enforcing the feeling that it is real just because it's a documentary* [...] Well, in the first film [*Schindler's List*], real action was played out by actors. For that reason, it could be more real (H-U2-5, Eu-Chan, M.16).

> The first one [*Schindler's List*] views things in an objective way while the second one [*Shoah*] does so in a subjective way [...] Because **the first film was based on universally known facts,** [it is more objective] [...] *[in the case of the second film] it was based on individual truth.* You know, what each person feels about a particular event is all different (H-U2-6, Chang-Soo, M.16).

In Eu-Chan's view, *Shoah* may be more misleading because of its claim to veracity, while *Schindler's List* may be more trustworthy because of its positioning as an 'authentic' fiction. For Chang-Soo, *Shoah* is 'subjective' since it has not been filtered through the 'objective' lens of film-making based on 'universal' truth, but leaves each individual addressing 'individual' truth.

Interestingly, *Shoah* was characterised as intensely personal because of the director's style of interviewing:

> From beginning to the end [...] it [*Schindler's List*] is just right, I mean, it does not go too far. It didn't dig up things enough, maybe. But **it seems to make the audience feel comfortable, giving a sense of objectivity** rather than *addressing a kind of subjectivity* (H-U1-2, Jeong-Tae, M.16).

Here, it appeared that Jeong-Tae sensed a trace of subjectivity, which, as Bartov (1997: 55) points out, 'stemmed from its maker's own national and ideological prejudice'. Bartov (1997: 55) goes on to argue that 'his [Lanzmann's] aim in making *Shoah* [...] was to create a

structure, a mould, which could serve as a generalisation of the (Jewish) people.' On the other hand, for Soo-Ji, *Shoah* may have the adverse effect of desensitising, even brutalising the viewers:

> On the whole, the former [*Schindler's List*] would be better. To be quite honest with you, the latter [*Shoah*] seems to be a bit more complicated. Considering clear images, like a certain choice of employing effective symbols [such as the pile of shoes and glasses], the first film would be slightly better. Not only that. [in *Shoah*] *There seems to be some gruesome elements in it, I mean, too cruel, which might be too disturbing for some viewers* [...] The story he [the Jewish concentration camp survivor] told us is already kind of over the top (H-U2-14, Soo-Ji, F.17).

In this section, the third category among the factors that determine a better representation of the past was outlined. Responses in this group tended to focus on the issue of authorship in interpreting the two films. In particular, it was the Russian revolution task that led students to compare the two films in the light of 'neutrality versus partisanship'. Some students in the Holocaust task also noted that authorial subjectivity was at work in constructing the filmic past. In the following section, the last categorisation of students' comparison of the films will be provided.

6.4. Structural explanation versus human understanding

6.4.1. Explanatory power

Students in this category regarded *October* as a better representation on the basis of its 'revelatory' power:

> It [*October*] **reveals how Russian people were suffering at that time**, I mean, their pain and hardship, that kind of thing (R-L3-1, Seung-Cheol, M.15).

> Because it [*October*] **shows what caused the Revolution** in a detailed way (R-

L3-3, Ki-Beom, M.15).

As these comments show, the responses in this category may resonate with those in category 2-(1) (actual versus abstract) in that both groups value the exposure of the past. However, what differentiates the two groups is the fact that the responses in this category have a bearing on the issue of identifying a better explanation rather than the reincarnation of the past in the present:

> The second one [*October*] is better. Because you can glimpse the atmosphere of the fortnight of the revolution [...] in terms of **showing the poverty caused by the war** (R-L3-6, Yong-Beom, M.14).

> [...] it **[*October*] reveals how the Russian people were suffering at that time** [...] [Unlike *October*], *in the case of the first one [Reds], there wasn't much space for real life in Russia*, like, the big gap between the rich and the poor. It's more to do with something abstract, like the main character's ideal (R-L3-5, Hwan-Soo, M.14).

In Yong-Beom's view, encountering an image of the Russian Revolution matters not only because it evokes the atmospheric moment of the revolution on the screen, but also because it demonstrates the main cause of the event. For Hwan-Soo, *October* is better since *Reds* focuses on discrete happenings, failing to come to terms with the structural factors of the event. Of course, given the nature of the source used, it is hasty to say that there is a sign of understanding complex causality per se. Rather, what is prevalent amongst responses in this group is the fact that they expected the visual accounts to hold explanatory power:

> Well, the scene in which the statue was topped off, gave me a sense of reality. To me, **the scene symbolises the end of a chapter of history**, like showing the last gasp of the Dynasty, like giving me a sense of a total upside-down. In that sense, the film **[*October*] is more substantial and closer to the historical truth** (R-L2-3, Jeong-Ho, M.14).

> What it [*October*] reveals is kind of deep, for example the scene of the reduction of rationing, **illustrating how the food shortage got worse and what it meant to Russian people** (R-U2-14, Min-Kyu, M.16).

> 'Cos it [*October*] is more to do with **the whole picture of the event rather than a particular case**. That's why it is closer to reality (R-U1-1, Woo-Jin, M.15).

> In my view, while the first one [*Reds*] was mainly about what the main characters were dreaming about, the second one **[*October]* aimed to outline the period** rather than to tell what happened to individuals at that time (R-U2-9, Young-Jae, M.17).

For Jeong-Ho and Min-Kyu, the strength of *October* lies in the power of its symbolism, which they believe, gets to grips with a turning point in history and the contemporary significance of the event. In a similar vein, for Woo-Jin and Young-Jae, *October* offers a better explanation since it is more representative than *Reds*. On the other hand, for some students, it is critical to construct visual accounts centring upon empirical bases:

> I mean, in a way, it [*October*] is more efficient in showing things. In the case of the colour film [*Reds*], it seems to deal with what the main characters are doing, like, sending news, rather than to **cover something universal, a sort of essence of the period, approaching the event through revealing a range of evidence step by step** (R-U1-2, Eun-Seo, F.15).

> The colour film [*Reds*] is too packed, I mean, full of episodes. In contrast, partly because the black and white one is a silent film, it could show what the Revolution was about, that is, **the content of the Revolution, in a meticulous way [...] I mean, the process of the Revolution was more detailed** (R-U2-5, Min-Jae, M.17).

As these comments show, their ideas about ideal representation of the past reflect their standards for better explanations. In Eun-Seo's view, it is the selection, scope and use of visual material that made *October* a good explanation. For Min-Jae, *October* is better in that some elements of silent films in the film help viewers make sense of each stage of the Revolution in a methodical way without any frills.

Compared to Eun-Seo and Min-Jae, Jeong-Seok and Yoo-Hee paid more attention to the way the construction of the film is linked to its interpretation of the event:

> To me, the black and white film must be better [...] You know, he **[Lenin] was a planner of the Revolution, anyway. For that reason, it's natural to shoot a film about the Revolution showing how everything was evolving around Lenin**. Well, I don't have any objection to the idea that colour film would do good because it [*Reds*] explained the background of the Revolution in a better way (R-U2-13, Jeong-Seok, M.17).

> [...] because **the black and white film has got a clear focus on a heroic figure of the period [Lenin]**, there was no beating about the bush. I mean, it's bound to be more straightforward than the other film, which sees the event from the margin [...] Anyway, Lenin was such an important person at that time, a sort of populist leader of the age (R-U2-19, Yoo-Hee, F.16).

For Jeong-Seok and Yoo-Hee, the interpretation of the event in *October* is a 'fair' representation since the selection made in the film reflects valid views and interpretations about the period. Despite their peers' criticism of *October* on the basis of its celebratory approach to the event (see category 4.1. neutrality versus partisanship), these students' attention was drawn to the correct placement of visual accounts in the context of the period. Overall, responses in this category valued *October* as a structured representation of the Russian Revolution at the macro level. In the following section, a discussion of responses that paid attention to historical representation at the micro level will be offered.

6.4.2. Micro history

The students in this category considered a form of drama as a better way of presenting the past because of its powerful narrative, which conveys a strong sense of temporality and causality:

> Because it [*Reds*] **tells us the story about people who were plotting the Revolution** in a more detailed way than the black and white film does (R-U2-11, Ki-Hoon, M.16).

> Because it [*Reds*] **shows how Russian people got together to discuss the general strike and to plan the Revolution** (R-U2-12, Eu-Beom, M.16).

For Ki-Hoon and Eu-Beom, the scene of Jack's speech in front of Russian people helps the audience to make sense of the event, by providing a causal link between discussion about the general strike and the implementation of the Russian Revolution. Other responses also emphasised the role of narrative as a device for making the past more accessible:

> Because it [*Reds*] is **more detailed. You could be more informed** [...] For example, if you watch films about the Korean War, it's hard to understand what's going on unless you studied that topic before. In a similar way [in *October*] there wasn't enough explanation in it (R-L2-5, Lee-Soo, F.14).

> Most of all, in the case of the black and white film [*October*], *there is no dialogue in it* (R-L2-6, Seung-Ji, F.13).

Similarly, the responses in the Holocaust task highlighted the role that narrative plays in organising a view of the past:

> In the case of the documentary [*Shoah*], we've got to reason from what the witness said. In contrast, the film [*Schindler's List*] is basically a story, which **offers us a thread to follow** (H-U2-11, Yoo-Jin, F.16).

Schindler['s List] is more detailed in many ways, I mean, in terms of story-telling [...] What I'm trying to say is that you can encounter a story through watching the scene. You know, once you have heard a story, you're likely to see a film from the standpoint of the story. **Once you follow the story-line, it's easy for you to make sense of the whole picture**, that is, the circumstances and background of the event (H-U1-1, Yong-Hoon, M.16).

As illustrated above, both students addressed the narrative strength of *Schindler's List* on the basis of its genre. For Yoo-Jin, its dramatic form carries a more intelligible historical account since it enables the audience to find a sequence of events and a meaningful pattern. Admittedly, Yong-Hoon's stance toward the role of narrative seemed to be ambivalent. For instance, on the one hand, he acknowledged a danger in equating narrative with history. As Barton (2004: 137) observes, 'we may think of the structure found in narratives as being a part of the past rather than a structure that has been imposed.' To put it differently, in Yong-Hoon's view, the elements of story grammar limit ways of conceptualising the past ('once you have heard a story, you're likely to see a film from the standpoint of the story'). On the other hand, it is 'the same teleological nature as fictional narratives' (Barton: 2004: 137) that offers Yong-Hoon the best possible way to search for meaning in the past. However, there is a sign of an awareness that the components of narratives function as an interpretive framework through the selection and arrangement of discrete facts. As Boix-Mansilla (2005: 106) remarks, 'the role that narrative and explanatory structure play not only in final reporting, but also in the very process of enquiry (e.g. as historians select and interpret sources, as they decide which actors and events to pursue)'

Compared to the responses in previous category (explanatory power), students' ideas in this group tended to focus on the lives and views of historical actors. As a result, the students in the Russian Revolution task drew attention to making sense of the period through characters' ideas, giving credit to *Reds*:

Reds is better 'cos there is a dialogue in it. Most of all, **people's ideas come out from the script** (R-U2-2, Min-Seop, M.15).

> It [*Reds*] seems to **have a closer look** [...] What's the word for it? [...] Right! Explanation! There is an explanation in the colour film. What the black and white film [*October*] shows is just a series of events. In contrast, the colour film, umm, of course it has got a story. Not only that, when it shows the situation in Russia, **the main characters tell us what's happening, for example what Russian people's thoughts are and what they have set out to do**, something like that (R-U1-2, Eun-Seo, F.15).
>
> Because the **colour film explains some key concepts through the characters' understanding of the situation**. I mean, while the main characters were covering the event through interview, investigation and reporting, the situation of Russia was revealed to us (R-U2-18, Seong-Joon, M.17).

As these comments show, for these students, conceptualising the period can be achieved by examining historical actors' worldviews ('people's ideas come out from the script'). *Reds* is better in that it takes an approach to the event at micro level ('*Reds* seems to have a closer look') through careful reconstruction of Russian peoples' ideals and intentions. In addition, the inner life of historical actors was illuminated by the characters' views of people in the past ('explains some key concepts through the characters' understanding of the situation').

Compared to the Russian Revolution task, the responses in the Holocaust task tended to stress the importance of an access to the motives and feelings of people in the past:

> Even though the film [*Schindler's List*] is a kind of fiction, it's made in an attempt to inform people of what happened to the Jews in the past. Therefore, for the director [Steven Spielberg], factuality also matters [...] the film [*Schindler's List*] **directly shows what could have happened to the Jewish accountant and the person who tried to do his best to rescue him**. In contrast, I've got an impression that *the documentary is keeping a distance* from what was going on at that time (H-U2-1, Jin-Wook, M.16).

> If you want to know some facts about the event, you'd better watch the film [*Schindler's List*], because each scene contains a certain event. But what matters is **how people felt at that time**. In that sense, the latter [*Shoah*] is better, because **it is digging up what was behind the scenes, like, asking eye-witnesses what kind of logic was operating at that time** (H-U2-4, Song-Joo, M.16).

For Jin-Wook, it is an empathetic understanding of historical actors that enables audiences to get to grips with the sheer scale of horror in the past. In his view, choosing an individual to function as the protagonist of history could offer audience the re-experienced memory of historical actors in a direct way. Compared to *Schindler's List*, for Jin-Wook, *Shoah* made viewers emotionally detached from the crime against humanity. By contrast, for Song-Joo, it is *Shoah*'s approach to historical actors including a variety of victims, perpetrators and bystanders that effectively employed a film as a means to reveal the inner logic of the mass killing, thus making complex testimony on the Holocaust intelligible for audiences.

As is the case with the responses in category 3.2 (eyewitness account as partial truth), some students addressed the strength of each film, thus often suggesting a combination of different approaches to rendering the past into a film:

> To me, in terms of the understanding of the period, the black and white film [*October*] would be better. But, in the light of building up identification between the film and viewers, the colour film [*Reds*] would be better (R-U1-4, Yeon-Joo, F.16).

> What I'm trying to say is that it might be better to show *Shoah* as a kind of supplement to *Schindler's List* [...] Once you inform audiences with **background knowledge** of the event, using Shoah, you **can move on to what people felt at that time** through *Schindler's List* (H-U1-5, Young-Mi, F.15).

Both students acknowledge the necessity of providing macro history (*October* being recommended in Yeon-Joo's case; *Shoah* in Young-Mi's case). However, in their view, once

a frame of reference for the period is given, a further step towards forming identification with the historical actors needs to be taken. For them, *Reds* and *Schindler's List* were seen as media for studying the feelings and thoughts of past agents. By the same token, Ho-Won and Eun-Jeong valued *Reds* and *Shoah*:

> In the case of the black and white film [*October*], it looks like being shot on the spot due to its black-and-whiteness. On the other hand, the colour film [*Reds*] involved acting. For that reason, it **could reveal what lay beneath** (R-L2-4, Ho-Won, F.13).

> Of course, I've got to admit that the documentary [*Shoah*] would be more appropriate if it is employed to match personal experiences to a certain part of the event [Holocaust] such as emotional experience of deportation. But for understanding a whole picture of the event providing real images would be better. Well, I'm not saying that the documentary would be no good. **Listening to the person's memory and his or her feelings could be an opportunity to go deeper**, I mean, to a more detailed investigation of a certain topic or outcome of the event (H-U2-15, Eun-Jeong, F.17).

For Ho-Won, it is *Reds* that gives a clue to investigate the mentalité of the period, thus allowing audiences to get access to the minds of past agents. By contrast, for Eun-Jeong, it is *Shoah* that provides an opportunity to scrutinise the minds of historical actors as 'possible instances of knowledge, i.e. as thought in relation to its object' (Dray, 1995: 246).

In this section, responses that fall into the last category (structural explanation versus human understanding) were illustrated. While *October* was endorsed on the basis of its explanatory power, *Reds* and *Schindler's List* were given credit on the basis of their narrative strength. Compared to the previous category (perspective-free versus perspectival), responses in this group tended not to reduce the criteria for a better representation of the past to the issues concerning authorship, such as the film directors' country of origin or their place on the political spectrum. Rather students in this category tended to focus on the scope and dimension of the story the film intended to tell.

In conclusion, a range of factors manifested in students' judgement about the two films could be attributed to students' notions of 'perfect' (historical) accounts. For some students, a detailed and seemingly neutral narrative formed by testimony can be seen as a 'perfect' account. In their view, acceptable historical knowledge can be established on the basis of either experience or observation.

When either fiction or documentary film was experienced as a representation of the past, students tended to assume an intimate relationship between message and messenger, in an attempt to come to terms with the way of knowing the full truth. For instance, both an eye-witness account and a fictional reconstruction might be viewed as determinants of better representation or worse representation. Analysing the cultural production and consumption of the past, Kansteiner (2002: 192) points to 'an unself-conscious return to the central role of human agency in history (now as the maker of representations) paired with a troubling disregard for proof (who actually shares or identifies with these representation).' In particular, the question of how we know the 'full' truth tends to come down to a matter of 'completeness'. For other students, in contrast, the question of an 'ideal' understanding of the past moves from a reproduction of the past to a reorganisation of the past.

Summary

This chapter analysed the way students compared different filmic representations of the past. Overall, while the responses opting for *October* and *Shoah* as better representations of the events, tended to emphasise their characteristics of realism in the sense of social reportage, those opting for *Reds* and *Schindler's List* stressed narrative elements and empathetic understanding. Crucially, even though there appeared to be many references to genre factors (components of documentaries or fiction films), students' responses illustrated the way they made sense of the question of how to conceptualise socio-historical reality. In short, students' responses to filmic representations reflected their ideas about historical accounts. However, the extent to which we can consider students' understanding of visual representation of the past as informing their historical understanding is subject to debate (for a detailed discussion, see Chapter 11.2. Further reflections on selected findings). In an

attempt to map students' ideas about the production of historical accounts further, the question 'how is it that we have different historical accounts?' is investigated in the following chapter.

Chapter 7. Students' conceptualisation of historical knowledge

In this chapter, students' ideas about the construction of historical accounts are discussed on the basis of their responses to two questions: 'how is it that we have different historical accounts?' and 'Is it possible to decide which story is a better representation of a past event? If so, how would you decide?' Each category of factors for differences in recounting the past is described, with an emphasis on students' beliefs about the production and organisation of historical knowledge. This is followed by an analysis of students' criteria for deciding on the issue of 'better' historical accounts

7.1. 'How is it that we have different historical accounts?'

Table 7.1. Selection of factors that determine differences in historical accounts in each task (omitting 'no response' category)

Categories	Russian Revolution	Holocaust	Total for both film pairs in each school type	Overall number of responses[35]
1. No difference		L: 3 U: 1	L: 3 U: 1	4
2. A matter of opinion	L: 5	L: 2 U: 1	L: 7 U: 1	8
3. Imperfect artifacts		L: 1	L: 1	1
4. Inherited perspective	L: 2 U: 3	L: 4 U: 11	L: 6 U: 14	20
5. Perspective as cognitive tool	U: 6	L: 6 U: 5	L: 6 U: 11	17
6.The nature of historical account	U: 2	L: 1 U: 4	L: 1 U: 6	7
Total (number of responses)	18	39	57	57

* L denotes lower secondary (middle school) students (12-15 year-olds); U denotes upper secondary (high school) students (15-17 year-olds).

[35] Numbers in this table and the following charts represent students with responses falling into each category – e.g. Jeong-Ho (R-L2-3)'s responses were coded both as category 3 and as category 4 since different parts of his responses fell into different categories.

Students responded to the question, 'How is it that we have different historical accounts?' (The abbreviations used in this chapter follow those in the previous chapter) [36]. Their ideas about the factors accounting for different versions of the past were categorised as shown in Table 7.1.

Figure 7.1. Selection of factors that determine differences in historical accounts

As seen above, students' responses showed a range of ideas about different historical

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[36] In the following extracts, R and H denote the Russian Revolution task and the Holocaust task respectively. L denotes lower secondary (middle school) students (12-15 year-olds), U denotes upper secondary (high school) students (15-17 year-olds). The participating institution was codified by letters such as A and B – e.g. (Extract R-L2-A): Middle School A, Year 2, for the Russian Revolution task. The students' names are preceded by indicators of the task group and age group to which the student belongs, as well as a number given to them for coding. Students' sex and age are also included, in round brackets. In addition, words in bold print in each response denote indicators for coding.

accounts. In the case of the first category, there was no difference between contrasting accounts, as according to the students there appeared to be 'only one past'. Responses that attributed the difference to the exercise of personal choice were categorised as 'a matter of opinion'. Younger students tended to resort to the word 'opinion' when facing the issue of different versions of the past. There was only one response that drew attention to gaps in information about the past (imperfect artifacts). Compared to the responses in the previous categories, those in the fourth category ('inherited' perspective) began to frame the question of competing historical accounts in terms of an issue concerned with construction of knowledge rather than in terms of an issue concerned with given knowledge. In the case of the fourth category, the differences in historical accounts were attributed to 'inherited' perspective determined, for example, by nationality, education, and generation. This kind of understanding of perspective as an illegitimate force, which turns historical accounts into identity politics, was most frequently identified in this study amongst either lower or upper secondary school students. In contrast, older students tended to subscribe to the view on history as cognitive mastery, to which two last categories, 5) perspective as a cognitive tool and 6) the nature of historical accounts belong. In the case of the former, perspective was considered as a positive element continuously crafted by historians whose practice tends to reflect the situatedness of historical enquiry. In the case of the latter, differences in historical accounts were attributed to interpretive focus, which is a necessary feature of historical study in a methodological sense.

7.1.1. No difference

The responses in this category tended to deny the possibility of having different historical accounts, subscribing to the idea that there is 'only one past' or that differences are 'a matter of rhetoric'. These two conversations below took place shortly after the students had watched a pair of film clips about a gas chamber.

(Extract H-L2-F)

Int.: Is it possible to have different stories about the same event? You don't have to stick to these films.

[…]

Eun-Jin (F.13): Umm.

Int.: For example, what happened inside a gas chamber during the Second World War happened in the past. Can we have different stories about the event?

Eun-Jin: I don't think we can.

Int.: You mean, what we can get is the same story?

Eun-Jin: Yeah.

(Extract H-U2-B)

Int.: Right. You don't have to stick to these films. Is it possible to have different stories about the same event?

[…]

Chang-Soo (M.16): It depends on the person, who experienced the event.

Eu-Chan (M.16): (to Chang-Soo) Still, the situation was out there.

Soo-Bin (F.17): (to Chang-Soo and Eu-Chan) Doesn't it vary according to the director's idea?

Eu-Chan: To my mind, **the situation itself is objective, something you can't change**.

[…]

Chang-Soo: The actual appraisals of the event are different.

Eu-Chan: But, still, what they see is the same thing.

Soo-Bin: Come on, guys. Someone with a pessimistic view would produce something negative about it, while someone with an optimistic view would do something affirmative, I think.

Eu-Chan: I still think **what they see as a situation would remain the same.**

Chang-Soo: Even so, what they produce depends on their own view.

[…]

Eu-Chan: Even if there are some differences, it's a matter of degree rather than a matter of kind. Even if there are some variations, **what could be said would remain the same**, I reckon.

In Eun-Jin's case, the question of the possibility of encountering different accounts about the

past did not arise. For Eu-Chan, unlike Eun-Jin, a historical account is not a given story but a faithful reconstruction of the past. For him, however, the co-existence of different accounts is not acceptable since the object of the reconstruction exists out there in a fundamentally objective fashion. Curiously, compared to those in the Russian Revolution task, the responses in the Holocaust task seem to show a tendency to opt for 'no difference', attributing the sameness to either the empirical foundation (Eu-Chan's case) or a matter of rhetoric (Min-Soo's case):

> It depends on what kind of event the account is covering. If the event had a damaging effect on the narrators, they would take a harsh approach on the topic, criticising a lot. But, if the event has nothing to do with them, they would be cool-headed, without making a fuss about it. Having said that, even if there are some differences between two accounts in terms of wording or whatever, both accounts are the same in that the content of each account is the same (Min-Soo, M.13).

It can be said that the nature of the event presented in the Holocaust task might affect the way students frame the question, leading them into being overwhelmed by the 'uniqueness' of the event. Overall, the responses in this category were opposed to the idea of 'different pasts', assuming there was a correspondence between the past and historical accounts. However, these students grounded their objections on different bases. In the case of Eun-Jin, a given story is taken for granted as, in her view, knowledge about the past is fixed. In contrast, Eu-Chan and Min-Soo seemed to take into account the constructive nature of historical knowledge, while unwilling to accept the idea of the past as amenable to varying objectification.

7.1.2. A matter of 'opinion'

Another category, labelled as 'a matter of "opinion"', attributed differences in historical accounts to individual whim or personal choice. The following dialogue exemplifies this:

(Extract R-L2-B)

Int.: […] Is it possible to have different stories about the same event?

Seong-Ji (F.13): That's possible.

Int.: How is it possible? Remember that what happened happened only once.

Seong-Ji (F.13): Because there are bound to be different **perspectives**.

Int.: You mean, the story-teller's perspective?

Ho-Won (F.13): You know, everybody has different **ideas**.

Int.: Right. You two mentioned different perspectives and ideas.

Ho-Won, Lee-Soo (F.14): (murmuring) **Exaggeration**…

Ho-Won: What I'm trying to say is that, on top of that, there is a possibility for each person to exaggerate things.

Int.: Right. Is it possible to decide which version is closer to the truth?

[…]

Lee-Soo: I don't think it is possible.

Int.: Tell me why.

Lee-Soo: Because **no one was there**.

Int.: What if there was an eye-witness?

Ho-Won: To my mind, it all depends both on **whose story it is and on what kind of story it is**.

In Extract R-L2-B, both students (Seong-Ji and Ho-Won) attribute differences to either different perspectives or ideas. In addition, for both Lee-Soo and Ho-Won, it is taken for granted that there is always the possibility of exaggeration in recounting the past: there is no way to acquire accurate knowledge of the past 'because no one was there' (in Lee-Soo's case); the whole idea of evidence is grounded in first-person experience (in Seong-Ji's case). As seen in Figure 7.1., younger students tended to turn to the idea of the exercise of choices in the everyday sense when facing the question of competing historical accounts. As a result, these students became helpless when they were asked to suggest a way to decide on a better historical account (e.g. Lee-Soo resolved the issue by pointing out there is no possibility of first-hand knowledge). This tendency is congruent with one of the findings of *CHATA* (*Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches 7-14*) in that the U.K. students who were asked to give explanation for different historical accounts often resorted to 'free-floating' opinion. As Lee (2001: 18) points out, 'Opinion covered a range of ideas, but children often

treated it as if it were an entirely personal matter, with no procedures for weighing up or testing claims, however tentatively.'

7.1.3. Imperfect artefacts

There was only one response, which explicitly resolved the issue of different historical accounts by turning to a 'gap' of information in historical knowledge.

(Extract R-L2-A)

Int.: Is it possible to have different stories about the same event?

Jeong-Ho (M.14): That's possible.

Sang-Jin (F.13): Quite possible.

Jeong-Ho: What's the word for it? If there is any **accurate**, or rather **perfect**…

Eu-Yeol (M.14): **Knowledge**?

Jeong-Ho: Not that one!

Eu-Yeol: You mean, **information**?

Jeong-Ho: **Artefacts**! That's the word! It is impossible to preserve things in **perfect condition**. If there are well-preserved artefacts, like remaining buildings or other objects, it might be possible to have **accurate historical accounts**. But, you know, it is more common to come across **something missing**.

Int.: Right.

Jeong-Ho: Therefore, it is hard to trace back to the past. That's why history is **full of mysteries**.

Sang-Jin, Eu-Yeol: (laughs) Are you serious?

As Extract R-L2-A shows, it can be said that the word 'artefact' is interchangeable with either 'knowledge' or 'information'. Despite his peers' disapproval, the discovery of the word 'artefacts' provided Jeong-Ho with an explanation of the existence of several 'imperfect' accounts. For Jeong-Ho, the timeless quality of some artefacts guarantees a claim to accurate knowledge about the past.

The students in the following extract did not resort to the idea of a knowledge gap in order to deal with the issue of different historical accounts: all three students' responses were categorised as 'perspective as a cognitive tool' (for a detailed discussion, see pp. 220-221). However, it is worth quoting the conversation at length, as it also suggests students' ideas about 'disinterested' or 'impartial' artefacts:

(Extract R-U2-D)

Int.: Right. Is it possible to decide which version is a better representation of a past event?

In-Beom (M.16): That's possible. You know, there are some materials, which you can refer to, and which you can't easily manipulate. I mean, a kind of **physical thing, which doesn't contain any perspective.**

Int.: You mean, a kind of proof, which doesn't contain any thought?

In-Beom: You can say that. Something, that is **free from point of view.** It seems to me that any history book seems to contain the author's perspective. You know, books can be written in the way the author intended them to be. In contrast, artefacts can't be made in the same way history books were written.

Int.: You mean, it is hard to decide which account is truer on the basis of written sources like history books. But is it possible to do that if there is any artefact available?

In-Beom: Yeah.

Jeong-Min (M.16): In-Beom, you bastard! You just said what I was about to say.

As illustrated above, while history books are regarded as 'contaminated' materials, artefacts are seen by these students as value-free objects. This kind of idea can be attributed to a binary opposition of history as facts versus history as record.

7.1.4. 'Inherited' perspective

Not surprisingly, the factor most frequently selected (twenty responses out of fifty-seven) can be characterised as 'inherited' perspectives. Students in this group regarded perspective as 'a product of fate, circumstances, and the unfathomable mysteries of personal

temperament' (Haskell, 2004: 351). Students' comments below exemplify this kind of understanding of perspective.

> It could vary according to each narrator [...] Not only that. I think that the different situation in which each account was written could make a difference. Even the same person could produce different stories according to the **situation he or she got into** (H-L2-10, Jeong-Ki, M.12).

> [...] standpoints vary [...] No need to distinguish between two kinds of perspective [the first-person account and the modern historian's]. What matters is each person's **relationship to the past**. I mean, all [either first-hand or second hand accounts] depend on which value is considered more important, like the **values they hold towards** the past (H-U1-3, Song-Hee, F.15).

> In addition to **different perspectives, different circumstances** could make an impact [on the story] [...] sort of background, or certain circumstances to which the story-teller belongs, could make a difference (R-L3-2, Joon-Ki, M.15).

> Because there **tend to** be some who see things in a **positive way**, while others do so in a **negative way** (R-U2-13, Jeong-Seok, M.17).

More specifically, one's perspective is inherited at birth or defined by class, nationality, education, generation, or any other concatenation of circumstances:

> I think that it has something to do with the narrator's background, like which **class** he or she belonged to, or how close to the party in the account he or she was, that sort of differences (H-L2-1, Ki-Seok, M.14).

> Because the ways it [the event] was perceived are all different. [...] It all depends on which **country** he or she belongs to. In particular, when they talk about things like war...(H-L2-5, Dong-Han, M.13).

> […] it's something to do with what kind of **education** they have received […] At fundamental level, there could be great differences across different countries. Particularly, in the case of North Korea, the very first thing they learned could be a distorted view. Because they were **brought up that way**, they would **regard the view** as the **ultimate truth**, thus claiming it as the truth (H-U1-8, Bo-Ra, F.15).

> […] the young generation of Korea don't give a damn about the Korean War, as the older generation used to do. Because youngsters **haven't experienced** the terror of the war, they are more **indifferent** to the event, **detaching** themselves from it (H-U1-7, Yoon-Ji, F.15).

In the view of these students, we not only discover reality; we make it as well. Clearly, for them, it is experience that causally affects the way of knowing the past. Furthermore, experience cannot be true or false and cannot be evaluated as justified or illegitimate in relation to the subject and his or her world (see Hye-Joo's response below). In particular, students in the Holocaust task tended to refer to the different positions of each narrator: victims, perpetrators and by-standers:

> There could be more than one story about the same event, depending on which **position** you belong to, like **perpetrators, victims**, etcetera.[…] If the narrator was a perpetrator, he or she would be likely to **deny** what had happened. By the same token, if the narrator was a victim, he or she would **exaggerate** what happened to them partly because of the shock (H-L3-6, Mee-Na, F.15).

> It depends on from which **perspective** you see things […] They [**perpetrators**] might think that the **victims** deserved that. From their **world view**, there was **nothing wrong** with that, I think (H-U1-4, Hye-Joo, F.15).

[…] if a person did something wrong, he dared to speak about it. On the other hand, a victim would tell another story, which is **incompatible** with a previous story. As a result, we could encounter **different truths** (H-U1-1, Yong-Hoon, M.16).

As illustrated above, different perspectives are regarded as products of socially constructed experiences. As a result, these students' notion of experiences led them to reject the possibility of knowing the past (Yong-Hoon: We could encounter different truths). As Zammito (2000: 294) points out, 'it [experience] entails the inevitably personal, first-person order of all claims to knowledge, and in just that measure their contingency and fallibility.' Furthermore, the role of the collective past is characterised as either mystification or distortion of knowledge about the past:

> […] **different criteria** produce different accounts. It depends on **which past you belong to**. For example, if the person or the nation **got involved** in the massacre, it is hard for them to avoid **taking sides** (H-U1-5, Young-Mi, F.15).

> There could be several accounts, so that each account was bound to vary, depending on which **position** was taken, like **the Germans' view, the Jews' view and the objective view** […] Since the war ended, the **presentday Germans**' way of thinking has been also changed. That's also one of the reasons why different historical accounts have been brought about **over time** (H-U1-8, Bo-Ra, F.15).

As these views exemplify, the attribution of differences in historical accounts to different perspectives, which are considered as socially based distortions means that the ideal of objective knowledge is equated to a view from nowhere. However, these three students draw attention to the social dimension of perspective rather than to the issue of personal guilt or innocence raised by Mee-Na, Hye-Joo and Yong-Hoon. It is also worth nothing that these students began to realise a tension between subjective standpoints and objective testable

truths.

7.1.5. Perspective as a cognitive tool

In the position taken by students in the previous section, perspective appears as something fixed, something that just happens to historians. Again, perspective here applies to the personal factors influencing interpretation. However, perspective, in this next group of students, is understood as 'a cognitive tool deliberately crafted by historians' (Haskell, 2004: 351).

> If you look at **Japanese** history textbooks, the description of the annexation of Korea seems to justify what they did [...] From **Korean's point of view**, the event was nothing more than a bloody foreign invasion [...] that's what history is all about. Whenever **'a' history** is written, **the historian's subjectivity comes into play** (R-U1-2, Eun-Seo, F.15).

> A few days ago, there was a big **row over Japanese history textbooks**, which insist that Korean people were willing to take Japanese names during Japanese occupation. It is one of the telling examples of how we have different historical accounts. It seems to me that historians **keep changing their language** in order **to describe the past**. If they spoke the right language, there would be fewer conflicts like that. I'm sure that they also know what they are doing. I'm not saying that they are ignorant, or stupid. The thing is, they can't help it, **changing their description** of the event in order **to produce an 'appropriate' account** (H-L2-4, Min-Soo, M.13).

Overall, students who hold the position exemplified in the previous sections tend to conceive the role of historian either as a (would-be) ideal chronicler or as a hard-liner promoting a 'party history', while students in this group acknowledge that 'the past necessarily appears from a certain point of view' (Dray, 1995: 281). In the case of Min-Soo, it is not clear

whether he treated historians' accounts as a product of a legitimate viewpoint. However, he seemed to acknowledge that historical knowledge evolves across time as a result of the historian's conscious attempt to 'represent' the past through 'language' available to them.

(Extract R-U2-D)

Jeong-Min (M.16): You know, not all history books are objective.

In-Beom (M.16): There is an expression, 'history as a fact and history as a record'.

Jeong-Min: Generally speaking, any history book **involves the author's analysis** of the event. Naturally, his or her **subjective reasoning begins to work**.

Min-Jae (M.17): I think that kind of reasoning **reflects an individual's vision**.

In-Beom: Not only that. It **reflects the society** as well.

Jeong-Min: Any thought is a kind of **reflection of self**.

In-Beom: I've already told you, any thought is bound to be subjective.

Int.: Right. You mean, historians' reasoning is also a product of personal preference and a reflection of the society?

In-Beom: Yeah. There **must be part of that at work**, however small it is.

Jeong-Min: Of course, there is **something fixed, which hardly can be changed at your will**.

It is worth noting that students' ideas about different representations at a given time and place demonstrate their ideas about legitimate or illegitimate revisions of history.

That's something to do with **enhancing nationality**, like **making people be proud of being a Korean** […] According to the legend, as far as I remember, there was a bear and a tiger that wanted to be a human, and Hwan-Woong, a son of God. What it tried to tell us is **how special our nation is**, like all Koreans are descendents formed by a marriage between heaven and earth. In my view, the **legend was created** in order to announce that our nation does have a **founding legend**, something historical like what the Greeks and Romans had (H-U2-14, Soo-Ji, F.17).

How to write historical facts depends on the person who recorded the event. You know, because Shin-La united the Three Kingdoms [in the 7th century in Korea], the way the history of Three Kingdoms period was written **favoured** Shin-La [from the 11th century onwards], even though Ko-Koo-Rye [one of the Three Kingdoms, which was conquered by Shin-La] was a more brilliant country in terms of culture or in many other respects. That's why the **content of history** has **kept changing**, **adjusting itself to the period** [...] That's **how different accounts armed with different historical facts** come about (H-L2-3, Tae-Jin, M.14).

Often, the **evaluation of a historical figure** has been changed a lot. For example, in the **traditional view**, Prince Kwang-Hae was a bastard, like Prince Yeon-San. But, you know, **recently** the way historians portray Prince Kwang-Hae has been changed dramatically, like suddenly endorsing him as a brilliant ruler [...] **Each period has its own value**. I mean, it's something to do with **value, which historians think matters** (R-U2-19, Yoo-Hee, F.16).

As these quotations show, students' ideas about the role of historians seem to resonate with contemporary discussions of the situatedness of historical practice. According to Rigney (2000: 7-8), recent debates, formed in the context of postmodernism, renew awareness of the role of historians, whose subjectivity extends to their social identity. As Rigney (2000: 7-8) goes on to argue, 'it [subjectivity] also extends to the social identity of historians and their sense of being involved as responsible individuals in a particular polity, be this the academy or society in some broader sense.' For these students, on the other hand, historians' perspective is understood to be a positive accomplishment, through 'adjusting itself [the content of history] to the period' (Tae-Jin). The following discussion suggests their ideas about the integration of facts, narrative structure, and moral/political perspective in historical practice:

(Extract R-U2-D)

Int.: Most contemporary accounts said that Prince Kwang-Hae was a tyrant. But not all of them. In addition, somehow, appraisal of his period seems to be changed these days.

In-Beom (M.16): That's inevitable. Modern-day historians come to a conclusion like that because they **take into account the harsh political situation** at that time, which had led contemporary accounts into taking a negative view of Prince Kwang-Hae.

Min-Jae (M.17): In my reckoning, it is **hard for contemporaries to see the period in an objective way** because they were the **part of the world** at that time. I mean, it is absurd to say that I'm going to judge present-day affairs in an objective way.

Int.: Right. Do you think that modern-day historians could give a more objective account than historians at that time did?

In-Beom: I think so. You know, there are many **more sources** to which **modern-day historians** could refer than before. It is a kind of **accumulation of experiences and views** about the event, which was not available to historians at that time.

Min-Jae: Well, that's not always the case. People in the past might know something people at present don't know.

Int.: Sorry?

Min-Jae: I mean, **historians in the past might know something else about which historians at present have no idea**.

Int.: I see.

Jeong-Min (M.16): Min-Jae, you're right.

In-Beom: I agree. There must be both kinds of case.

Jeong-Min: Sure.

In-Beom: To be honest with you, I have absolutely no idea about what the future will look like.

Int.: Right. You all think that time does not guarantee a more objective historical account?

Jeong-Min: Yeah. I mean, not always. It depends on the event and its

surroundings

As shown above, these students began to acknowledge what is involved in historical research, in which historians' perspective is continuously modified. As Haskell (2004: 351) suggests, '[in Mommsen's view], the historian's perspective is understood to be a contingent array of suppositions that stands and falls in accord with its capacity to bring facts, narrative form, and ethical imperatives into a compelling unity in the particular work at hand.'

7.1.6. The nature of historical accounts

For students in this group, a particular perspective is considered as a necessary feature of historical enquiry. As Haskell (2004: 354) points out, 'values and the "one-sided" perspectives they inspire legitimately play an indispensable role in posing questions, constituting the objects of enquiry, and establishing standards of relevance.' Compared to the previous position, students in this group take for granted that any historical narration requires explanation. The responses below exemplify this stance:

> [...] even the facts have been **selected as the record** which was made by someone, who has got a certain view. I think every **record stands for a particular value** (R-U2-20, Jeong-A, F.16).

> [...] writing history all depends on the person who made the record. I mean, some aspects of society could be missed out, or distorted, while others could be selected. Furthermore, the **mere act of keeping a record** wouldn't do any good. Who on earth can understand the event, or even accept that it happened without any **explanation,** like how it happened (R-U2-21, Shin-Ae, F.16).

> Even though the result was the same, I mean, England's victory over Spain, historians could **explain** the process of the war **in different ways** [...] they have got **different views about what the war was about** (H-L3-1, Young-Bin, M.14).

As illustrated above, responses in this category strongly suggested that the construction of historical knowledge involves selection: 'every record stands for a particular value' (Jeong-A, F.16); 'the mere act of keeping a record wouldn't do any good' (Shin-Ae, F.16). As Lee (2005: 60) points out, 'preconception that can cause difficulties for students is the idea that a true account is a copy of the past rather than something more like a picture, or better still, a theory.' What Young-Bin considers to matter is not the reproduction of a story but a particular way of organising the past. Responses in this group began to show awareness that 'there can be no "complete story" of the past; only accounts within the parameters authors unavoidably set when they decide which questions to ask' (Lee, 2005: 60).

In Extract H-U2-G, the perspectival nature of historical narration was discussed through focusing on differences between Korea and Japan in the accounts of history textbooks, which was the most commonly used example by students in this study:

(Extract H-U2-G)

Seong-Mi (F.16): They [historians] can try to reduce their subjectivity, I guess. But, it's impossible to shut every **single trace of subjectivity** out.

Jin-Wook (M.16): I agree with you. That's out of the question.

Int.: Right. Then, what about historical accounts in history textbooks? Don't you think they are objective accounts?

Seong-Mi, Jin-Wook, Yong-Woo: (inaudible, talking to each other)

Int.: You all think they are not?

Seong-Mi: You remember the controversial Japanese history textbooks? On the surface, they look objective. But, many significant things were missed out, like, the story of Korean comfort women in the Pacific War. Who can say that the textbooks are objective?

Int.: You mean, the description of the past event seems to be objective. But, some aspects of the event are glossed over…

Seong-Mi: Even the description itself didn't get it right.

Int.: Umm.

Seong-Mi: You haven't seen how the event was written? They said that Korean

women had volunteered to be sex workers.

Int.: I see. What do you think, Yong-Woo?

Yong-Woo (M.17): Well… The very fact that some events are included in textbooks reflects a particular **choice**, like subjective views on the past.

Int.: You mean, a description itself contains a certain choice?

Yong-Woo: Yes. A sort of **selection.**

Int.: Right. You mean whether something is included or excluded involves subjectivity? O.K. then… (noticing that Jin-Wook is about to say something) Go on, Jin-Wook.

Jin-Wook: What matters is what you regard as historical accounts. For example, you can bump into only one sentence, 'Japan invaded Korea' in a history book. Contrary to this case, some authors might decide to put more events during that time, like before and after the annexation of Korea by Japan, into their book. In my view, the factual statement, like 'Japan invaded Korea', could be objective. The thing is **history calls for an explanation**. I mean, while filling the gap between factual sentences, authors' personal views or standpoint and the atmosphere of the period, etcetera, seem to come into play.

Seong-Mi: Hang on. **Even a factual statement can't be value-free**. Let me give you an example. If there is a sentence, like 'Under these circumstance or conditions, Japan invaded Korea,' it will give you an impression that there must be a reason for Japan to do that. In contrast, 'Japan's invasion brought the Korean people into these situations' sounds as if it must have been written from Korean people's point of view.

Int.: You mean, even a mere description of an event contains the historian's view?

Seong-Mi: I mean, even though you write a sentence which is full of hard facts, you can't be completely objective.

Yong-Woo: I think that **even contrasting views** about the same event would **enable us to understand the truth of the matter**, what really happened in the past, informing us with a kind of individual understanding of the past. Whether two accounts about the same event are different or similar doesn't really matter. Still, those accounts would help you to make sense of the event as it was.

As illustrated above, in their view making an account of the past involves selection, demanding historians' ideas about the event, which are tacit and implicit: '[description itself] reflects a particular choice' (Yong-Woo, M.17); 'even a factual statement can't be value-free' (Seong-Mi, F.16); 'history calls for an explanation' (Jin-Wook, M.16). Moreover, for Yong-Woo, it is acceptable to have contrary views about the same event: 'even contrasting views about the same event would enable us to understand the truth of the matter, [...] informing us with a kind of individual understanding of the past.' In particular, Jin-Wook and Seong-Mi paid attention to how the presentation of the event and interpretive schemata are unfolded: 'while filling the gap between factual sentences, authors' personal views or stand point and the atmosphere of the period, etcetera, seem to come into play' (Jin-Wook, M.16); 'even though you write a sentence which is full of hard facts, you can't be completely objective' (Seong-Mi, F.16).

Clearly, in the conversation between Jin-Wook and Seong-Mi there are signs that they are beginning to see that it is possible to hold up for scrutiny the values and ideas which inform a historian's work. However, it is not clear that there is a sign of a recognition of the constitutive role of subjective value in historical enquiry.

As discussed in this section (particularly in categories 4 and 5), it can be said that acknowledging the structuring of historical knowledge as a part of cultural practice enabled students to make a shift from seeing a historical account as a kind of reproduction of the past to seeing it as a kind of organisation of the past. However, not all students who share this belief about historical knowledge considered the question of criteria for admissibility of historical accounts. In an attempt to map students' ideas about the 'objectivity question' in historical accounts, the question of how to decide which is a better historical account was pursued.

7.2. 'Is it possible to decide which story is a better representation of a past event? If so, how would you decide?'

The second broad question in this chapter deals with an analysis of students' ideas about weighing up different historical accounts. As is the case with the question of 'how is it that we have different historical accounts?' in the first half of this chapter, students' responses to the question of deciding which is a better historical account often referred to everyday notions of acceptable knowledge. In the following sections, students' perceptions of the ways in which different historical accounts are assessed is discussed. Numbers in the Figure 7.2 represent the number of students with responses falling into each category.

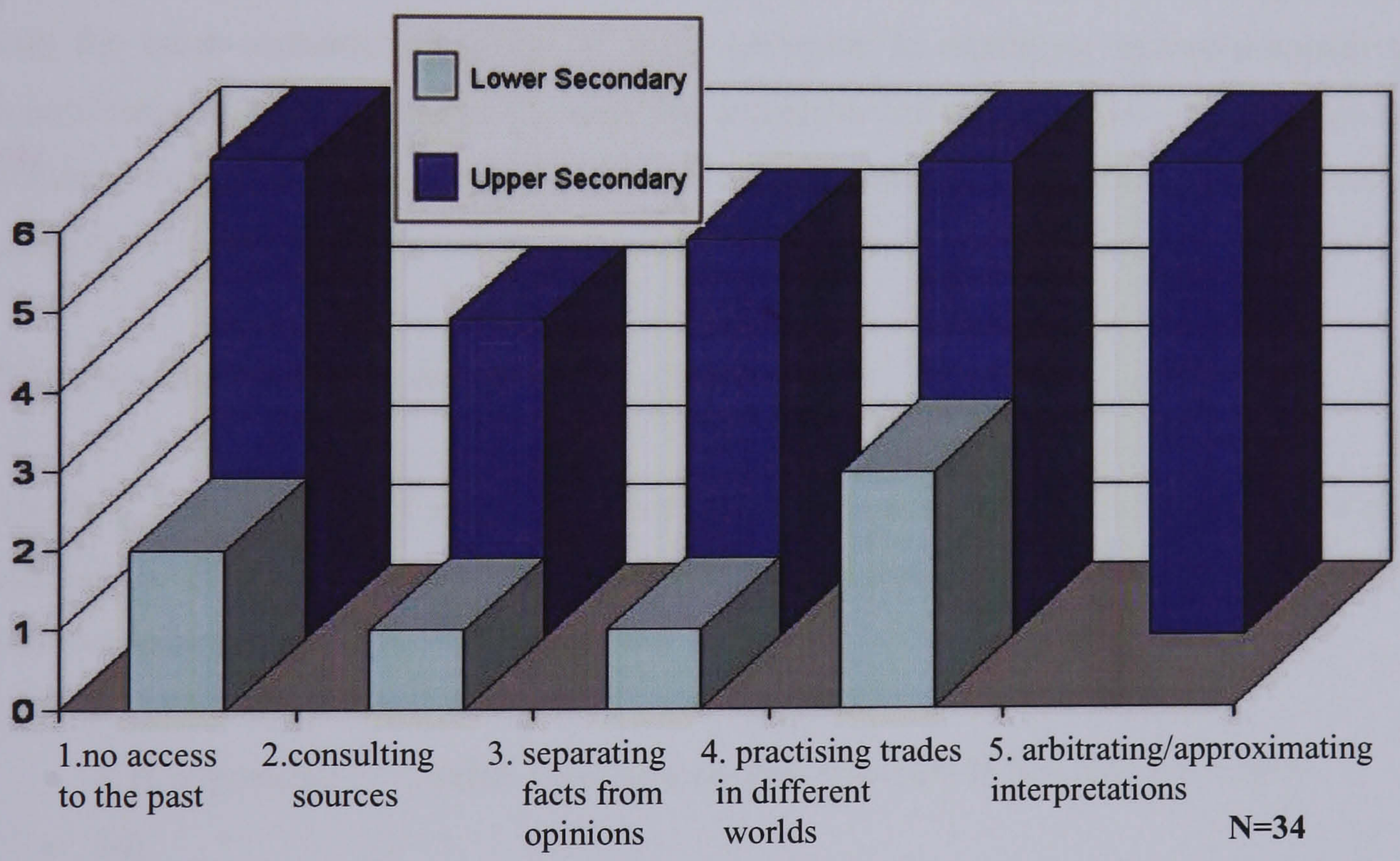

Figure 7.2. Students' ideas of deciding on a better historical account

Compared to the previous question, 'how is it that we have different historical accounts?', the issue of how to select a better account appears to puzzle students. The total number of categorised answers (N=34) in Figure 7.2 is fewer than the total number of participants as this Figure omits the 'no response' category. The number of students who answered this question was relatively small. Only thirty-four students either suggested how to arrive at acceptable historical knowledge, or gave an explanation about impossibility of gaining

grounded knowledge of the past (in the case of the previous question, fifty-six students selected factors that determined differences in historical accounts). Some students did not answer the question at all, while others insisted on the possibility of making a decision without suggesting how to proceed: 'You know, there are always different versions of the event [...] I think it's possible to say which is more true' (R-L2-2, Eu-Yeol, M.14). On the other hand, some students simply denied any possibility of drawing a conclusion: 'I don't think we can decide' (H-U2-21, In-Kyeong, F.16; H-U2-21, Mi-Hee, F.17); 'Maybe not' (H-U2-17, Eun-Hye, F.16). As can be seen in Figure 7.2., older students were more confident when facing the 'objectivity question': across categories more upper secondary school students proposed criteria for the comparison of rival accounts than lower secondary school students did. In particular, there was no lower secondary school student whose response fell into the most sophisticated group of ideas (category 5: arbitrating and approximating interpretations), which indicates the view that acceptable interpretations of the past could be achieved through the rigorous application of research methods. In the following sections, a discussion of each category will be provided.

7.2.1. No direct access to the past

The first categorisation of responses shows that the problem of the non-existent past led students to disapprove of the idea of constructing acceptable historical knowledge. The following responses exemplify this position:

> It is impossible [...] Often, there was **no one who saw it** (R-L2-5, Lee-Soo, F. 14).

> I don't think it is possible. You know, you have never seen the past event with your own eye. What you **know about the past all came from books you read, or through watching films** (H-U2-13, Soo-Bin, F.17).

> **Without experience**, it is hard to tell (H-U2-9, Min-Ho, M.16).

> I still think no one knows the truth except the person who was involved with the

> event. I mean, even when you read a book, it's **hard to know which context it was written in**. Some guesswork is possible. But, you can't decide which is more true (H-U1-2, Jeong-Tae, M.16).

As illustrated above, the 'pastness' of the historian's object is seen as an obstacle to historical enquiry since there is no one who bears first-hand knowledge of the past. Interestingly, in Jeong-Tae's case, what troubles him is that there is no direct access to the 'context of the past' rather than to a 'real past' ('it's hard to know which context it was written in'). Even though he also shows concern about the absence of eye-witness, what differentiates him from other students in this group is his perception of the inaccessibility of the past, chiming with the idea of the object of historical enquiry as an 'existent thinking-of-the-past'. As Dray (1995: 241) elaborates, 'the historian still cannot know which construction placed upon the evidence most nearly describes it.'

On the other hand, for other students, the revival of the past by eye-witnesses also made knowledge of the past impossible. Apparently, some responses in the Holocaust task seem to be shaped by the characteristics of the material, the form of testimony employed in *Shoah*:

> (jokingly) What about **mixing A and B** together? Then it could be a real truth (laughs) (H-U1-4, Hye-Joo, F.15).

> Well, even the person who decides might tell a lie [...] And it's almost **impossible to grill all the parties who were involved, in order to obtain a true statement**. What are you going to do about it? Use lie detector? Having said that, you'll never be certain which is truer (H-U1-3, Song-Hee, F.15).

Considering that their expression of cynicism was towards testimonies, particularly when given as answers to interrogation, it is not clear whether Hye-Joo and Song-Hee referred to historical enquiry. However, it is safe to say that, in their view, the thought of past agents is studied either arbitrarily or 'subjectively', and thus no grounded knowledge of the past is possible.

7.2.2. Consulting sources

Unlike the responses in the previous category, those in the second category did not deny the possibility of gaining accurate knowledge of the past. The responses in this group often referred to 'evidence' as a kind of data which is full of 'hard' facts. In their view, as long as there is a correspondence between written sources and factual statements, the claim to knowledge of the past can be valid:

> […] there must have been **someone who recorded** what happened as it was, **collecting oral sources, like what witnesses said about it**, or whatever (R-L2-4, Ho-Won, F.13).

> That's possible […] By examining what each person said, I guess […] I mean, if there is any logic in it, like if **one book is more logical**, it is the author of that book who tells the truth (R-U2-11, Ki-Hoon, M.16).

> There must have been some evidences, which back up their claim. As long as the **evidences fit into the factual statement**, that's fine, I think (H-U2-7, Jin-Ho, M.16).

In these students' view, deciding on a better historical account involves a search for 'evidence', which is waiting to be found. In other words, the notion of interpreting evidence does not come to light, as if historians discovered the past ready-made. However, some students begin to see the knowledge of the past as 'what the historian excogitates from that evidence' (Dray, 1995: 3):

(Extract R-U2-D)

> Int.: Right. Let me give you an example. There are conflicting accounts about Prince Kwang-Hae. One said he was a merciless tyrant while the other said he was a brilliant ruler. Are there any criteria upon which you can decide which account is a better representation of a past event?
>
> Jeong-Min (M.16): There is one, like **circumstances!**

Int.: You mean, the particular conditions under which the source was produced? Or, the political situation in general?

Jeong-Min: All included!

In-Beom (M.16): Not only political circumstances. There must have been written sources like **original documents**. Well, **political circumstances were part of written sources**, anyway. Wait! As far as I remember, contemporary sources all agreed with each other that Prince Kwang-Hae was a tyrant

In In-Beom's view, historical accounts are not accurate copies of the past. In other words, In-Beom is aware of the fact that 'even archival documents have "writerly" dimensions' (Zammito, 2000: 283). As Zammito (2000: 283) goes on to argue, it is crucial to recognise that 'simple "documents" need not and should not always be "gutted" for information; read for their "worklike" elements.' Here, it appeared that In-Beom began to make sense of a complex relationship between source and its context.

7.2.3. Separating facts from opinions

In this group, the idea of 'hard' facts reappears. However, for these students, historical enquiry is not a mere activity of compilation. It is the act of separating 'hard' facts from 'mere' opinions that makes the writing of history possible.

> With respect to the facts, which were described in an objective way, it's O.K. to take those as 'facts'. Regarding **any comment on the event**, you've got to be more careful, I mean, just **taking it as some references**, nothing more than that. […] You know, **the ways people perceive the facts are bound to be different** (H-U2-18, Min-Seon, F.16).

> Imagine that you call upon people who got involved in the event, and listen to them, there must be something in **common amongst their testimony**. I mean, if there is an **overlapping part that could be regarded as truth**. To be honest with you, I'm not sure it will work. But still, unless they are all plotting and making up things, you could infer truth from those testimonies in a logical way

(H-U1-1, Yong-Hoon, M.16).

In Min-Seon's view, it is crucial to draw a line between 'objective' descriptions of the facts and any appraisal of the event. However, she seemed to hesitate to dismiss the historians' craft, and to be willing to take it as a reference point. For Yong-Hoon, investigating a given testimony was seen as a reliable route to travelling to the past reality, though with some reservations. Possibly, in both cases, there is a trace of denying that what is studied is literally past.

Students in this group, particularly in the Holocaust task, tended to apply a psychological conception of understanding to historical cognition:

> In my view, however fabulously the event is presented, audiences would feel wrong in the end if it is obviously wrong. Of course, there is a **possibility of manipulation from the author's side**. I mean, if audiences are totally ignorant of the event, they are very likely to follow the author's line. But, **if things come down to real events, that's more straightforward**, don't you think? (H-U2-4, Song-Joo, M.16).

Song-Joo seemed to perceive filmic representation is as analogous to the way he conceived the logic of historical cognition, viewing historical representation as turning 'straightforward' facts into 'subjective' constructs.

On the other hand, there was a tendency to appeal to the third person account, which is free from any perspective:

> Well, I just came up with the idea of a kind of **decision made by the so-called 'the third party'**. What will happen if you ask a person, who has absolutely no idea about the event, like a piece of blank paper? […] If you show the 'Tabula Rasa' person a history text, which illustrates only the facts…(R-U2-10, Seung-Soo, M.16).

> Well, maybe, we can try to **objectify a historical account as much as possible** (R-U2-25, Mi-Jin, F.16).

The responses above are part of a conversation which took place after viewing the first pair of film clips of the Russian Revolution. While other outspoken students strongly hold a 'reconstructivist' view (Jeong-A: 'every record stands for a certain value'; Shin-Ae: 'the mere act of keeping a record wouldn't do any good'), these two students show unease towards their contention. In Seung-Soo's view, it is safer to ascribe the role of decision to the (pre-empted) third person. In Mi-Jin's case, what matters is to 'neutralise' each account, in an attempt to reach out to the truth of the past.

What concerns younger students is a kind of fabrication of a 'real' past. The following extract demonstrates their ideas about 'fiction' in history:

(Extract R-L2-A)

Jeong-Ho: [...] if you look at some legends like the Dan-Koon legend [about the founder of Old Cho-Seon Dynasty], there are some fictions in it.

Eu-Yeol: Come on, Jeong-Ho! You go over the top.

Jeong-Ho: As if everything came into being all of sudden, like the creation of the earth.

Int.: Do you think the legend is false?

Jeong-Ho: Of course, there is **some truth**. The thing is, some parts of it were **exaggerated in order to emphasise the fact** that Cho-Seon had been ruled by a great leader [Dan-Koon], who deserved a great myth.

Eu-Yeol: What it [Dan-Koon legend] intended to do was **pass down a great story** by word of mouth. That's all.

Sang-Jin: I think that there was a need to have someone to worship.

Eu-Yeol: But it was **full of fictions in terms of content**.

Jeong-Ho: Yeah. You're right. How come someone in heaven watched over the earth, and decided to send his son?

Int.: Alright. Then, why did people make that kind of myth? Do you think it just

came out of the blue?

Jeong-Ho: Let me tell you. Somehow, **there was a fact**…

Eu-Yeol: It was people who…

Jeong-Ho: Yeah, there were times when **people added something to the basic facts**.

Eu-Yeol: It's a **sort of publicity thing**, I guess.

Int.: Right. You mean, something had been added into initial sources in order to make a story look more interesting?

Jeong-Ho: That's right. There must have been **some sources, which were polished and highlighted later.**

As this extract shows, there was a consistent attempt by these students to develop the idea that 'fiction' has been elaborated in history, blaming people in the past, who have done this for the purpose of 'publicity'.

7.2.4. Practising trades in different worlds

While responses in the previous group tended to restrict historical truth to empirical evidence, those in this group seem to be sceptical about the very idea of objectivity in historical enquiry. In other words, responses from this group found a comparison of competing historical accounts futile, as if historians were practising trades in different worlds.

> Once you look at those stories in completely different ways, any story could begin to make sense, I mean, **if you take several perspectives into account**. If you think about it from different angles, any version can be true […] For example, **if one version is about A while the other is about B**… If you put things that way, **there is nothing contradictory** (R-L2-1, Sang-Jin, F.13).

Anyway, it's true that something happened. Because there were two parties, two different accounts came into existence. **One explained what happened in a certain way, while the other did so in another way**. That's all. I mean, **unless**

> **they told a total lie, both accounts could be true** [...] Perhaps, how to decide which is more true depends on who is looking at that matter, like **the decision can vary according to the person's position** (H-L3-2, Young-A, F.14).

What concerned Sang-Jin and Young-A was the relativity of historical accounts, which cannot be dissolved by any means. Moreover, there was a doubt about what Rüsen (2000: 64) called, the 'Rankean vision of historical objectivity [...] the objectivity of research guaranteed the objectivity of the researcher.'

> What if the person [who makes a decision] is **narrow-minded, sticking to only one viewpoint**? (R-L2-3, Jeong-Ho, M.14).

> I don't think it is possible to decide which is right and which is wrong, like a moral judgment (H-U2-13, Soo-Bin, F.17).

> First of all, you've got to listen to all the parties who've got involved. And, then, you're in an objective position to decide which is more true. But, still, **it's hard to know the whole truth 'cos you never know fully what they're thinking inside**. Only if what they're talking about coincides with each other, can you trust what they're talking about. I mean, **on the condition that there is not a huge contradiction** between two accounts [...] (H-U2-10, Seong-Mi, F.16).

For Jeong-Ho, resorting to a third-person decision, the method adopted by students in the previous group was not trustworthy since it is hard for a third person to escape from his or her own assumptions and belief systems. Jeong-Ho seemed to believe that the interpretive process can never mitigate the prejudices of the interpreter. In Soo-Bin's view, the criteria within which competing historical accounts are contested cannot be established in the way that a moral judgement is made. Possibly, for her, the role of a historian is not so much issuing a definitive judgement as 'pursuing his or her own interest without any immediate concern for social value' (Rigney, 2000: 13). Interestingly, Seong-Mi seemed to equate objectivity with neutrality, while accepting the limits and conditions implied by perspective. What troubled her was the difficulty of recognising

the 'objective' content of historical reality, as if the reconstruction of the past would require 'the ability to telepathically access inward psychological process' (D'Oro, 2004: 205).

Overall, students in this group tended to deny the possibility of grasping the perspective of a historical account on the basis of either the lack of openness and willingness to recognise different assumptions or the difficulties of establishing fixed standards of interpretation. However, some students ascribed that kind of standard to the role of moral value in historical understanding:

> Well, you can decide if you want. The thing is the **decision itself would vary**, according to the person's thoughts. Which account is closer to the truth could be decided, which all depends on the person's ideas [...] I would rather say, **'criteria'.** Of course, there **must be universal standards, though with some variation**. For example, in the case of the mass-murder of Jewish people, there seems to be **a kind of convergence of ideas about what happened to the Jews**, even though a few denied the event (H-U2-3, Seok-Bin, M.16).

> I'm not saying that it is 100% possible. But, still, you can come to a certain conclusion **via a consideration of a kind of universal criteria, like ethics, or the human conscience**, whatever. For example, if you look at a **human atrocity like the Holocaust**, you cannot agree with the cause, however hard the Nazi people tried to justify what they did, like claiming their ethnic superiority over other ethnic groups. It's crystal clear that to kill people is immoral. If the decision involves that kind of case, like the Holocaust, **we can decide which is right or wrong at least** (H-U2-1, Jin-Wook, M.16).

As shown above, highlighting the role of criteria, both Seok-Bin and Jin-Wook made a reservation about the possibility of reaching a conclusion. However, what made them stop from running in the direction of subjectivity and relativity was either agreed-upon facts (in Seok-Bin's case) or universality based on human moral understanding (in Jin-Wook's case).

For both students, the Holocaust seems to be seen as one of those so-called 'source' events. As Bédarida (2000: 73) argues, 'because of the ethical and historical stake they bring into play, [the 'source' events] provide a foundation for identity (be this positive or negative) and a framework in which a multiplicity of futures can be imagined.'

Of course, it is not clear that both students pay enough attention to the complex relationship between factual and judgmental statements in history. Furthermore, for students in this group, it is impossible to limit the number of permissible interpretations of the past because of the link between historical practice and social value:

> **Isn't it the question of how to choose the better opinion**? Like between two conflicting ideas, like opinion A and opinion B, can we decide which is right? It sounds like a question in exercise books in social studies (H-U2-5, Eu-Chan, M.16).

> I think there is no answer to that. Let me give you an example. I came across the fact that **some countries got it wrong about Korean history**, like, describing Korea as one of China's colonies (H-L3-3, Na-Hyeon, F.15).

For Eu-Chan, the question was regarded as a task often given in citizenship education classes. In Na-Hyeon's view, historians explain the past in different ways, reflecting their 'social' identity. A dispute over the interpretation of the past between Korea and Japan was the most often quoted example in this study. Again, for Young-Mi (on the next page), it is taken for granted that Korea and Japan end up with having conflicting accounts, as if the past were owned separately by each country. Moreover, in her view, a socially distorted perspective tends to shape the communal past, privileging one interpretation over the other. What lies behind this line is a self-defeating 'essentialism', in which, as Zammito (2004: 295) stresses, 'experience and identity have been "primary organising principles" of theoretical self-understanding, mobilisation, and political practice.'

> It's hard to make that kind of decision. You know, there has been a territorial conflict over Dok island between Japan and South Korea. Not surprisingly,

Korean history textbooks say, 'Dok island has been Korean territory since ancient time'. You know, as Koreans, we all are expected to learn things in the way in which the account intended to unfold the events. However hard you try to listen to different versions, it is **rare to escape from what the account intended to tell**. Even if the way each version is presented seems to be impartial, **every historical account has its own agenda to raise** (H-U1-5, Young-Mi, F.15).

To sum up, students in this group seemed to recognise the situatedness and positionality of the historian in his or her own study, noting that 'subjectivity is indispensable to the constituting of objects' (Megill, 1994b: 8).

7.2.5. Arbitrating and approximating interpretations

Students in this group also acknowledged the role of subjectivity in historical interpretation. What made them different from the previous group was their search for the commonality of critical appraisal.

> To my mind, **both historical accounts must be grounded as long as those accounts are based on experiences**. I mean, it is hard or almost impossible to decide which is more true or which is less true, or even a lie. Well, if there are A's version and B's, only thing they can do is **to swap the sources on which each account is based, and to exchange their ideas about those materials** (H-L2-12, Yeon-Sil, F.14).

> You could **look for the context, in which each account was brought about**. Even if there are two different claims, there ought to be the facts, on which different accounts were based. **Bearing the facts in mind,** you can weigh up each account, like **making a hypothesis and finding out which account fails to satisfy the necessary conditions** (H-U1-8, Bo-Ra, F.15).

> **You can't abandon any of versions of the story** [...] Let me explain. Individuals hold different images of matters, like any event in America and Russia, right? As Shin-Ae said, if a film is made in the U.S., it tends to describe Americans as world heroes. What I mean is that if a certain image exists in a certain country, **film-making is bound to reflect the given image**, just like in the film [*Reds*], giving the impression that an American socialist played a significant role in the Russian Revolution. Considering this in your mind, you can move on to **comparing different versions** of the same event (R-U2-20, Jeong-A, F.16).

Yeon-Sil stressed the constraints of experience, equating justified knowledge with a psychological concept of truth. To a certain degree, Bo-Ra also admitted the possible co-existence of different versions of an event. Again, Jeong-A showed a concern for the incompatibility of different perspectives, employing the example of filmic representations of the past. However, these students believed that various interpretations can still be compared with one another, given the historical evidence and the consistency of the interpretation itself. To put it differently, even though both students regarded the absence of pure historical fact as a problem, there is, in their view, room for 'giving a broader, non-partisan picture of events within which competing points of view on the conflict are at least contained, if not reconciled' (Rigney, 2000: 15).

On the other hand, what is common amongst students in this group is their belief in the capacity of interpreters, characterising this as a certain openness and willingness to recognise relevant differences of perspective and to integrate those into an interpretive process:

> Once a new fact comes out, I mean, if it is **more accurate than existing facts**, people begin to believe that it is true. That way ...(H-U1-2, Jeong-Tae, M.16).

> [...] only two sources are not enough to introduce the story [Dan-Koon Sin-Wha: a Korean nation- building legend] into a history textbook. But scholars do not seem to have any objection about that. That way, I mean, **the story could be included in textbooks to the extent that the story is convincing** (H-U1-1,

Yong-Hoon, M.16).

You can tell which is better on the basis of your own standpoint. I mean, which one makes sense more can be obvious when you **examine the stories from a currently available viewpoint** (R-L3-2, Joon-Ki, M.15).

For Jeong-Tae, what makes historical enquiry move forward is the integration of 'new' facts into an existing body of knowledge. In Jeong-Tae's case, of course, the question of how to proceed with the interpretive process does not occur. However, there is an awareness that pursuing meaningful interpretation involves embedding historical facts more amply as a result of historical research. As Gay (2000: 39) suggests, 'facts *cut down* the number of sensible interpretation' (Gay's italics):

> the range of their [historians'] assertions will shrink with increasing knowledge […] the more heavily populated the context of a given event, the fewer (though the more sweeping) interpretations can we legitimately proffer.

In Yong-Hoon's view, a story is included in history textbooks to the extent that a dispute over its accuracy has ceased to exist amongst scholars. Possibly, he implied that agreement amongst scholars plays the role of settling the meaning of the event. Interestingly, Joon-Ki did not show any scepticism about the 'objectivity' of interpreters, suggesting that they can easily integrate particular belief into their own assumptions. Although he did not articulate the notion of 'intersubjectivity', he showed confidence in dealing with the 'objectivity question', regarding the historian's role as providing alternative perspectives on the past.

Similarly, for older students in this group, knowledge about the past can be achieved only through developing a specific point of view:

I think it is possible to know that there is any distortion of the truth through investigating the facts, distinguishing the true from the false. But, interpreting the way historical accounts convey a particular value, like, positive or negative, all comes down to the historian's decision […] **Bringing about different interpretations is a part of historical enquiry**. In a way, it's **historians' right**

to do so (R-U2-19, Yoo-Hee, F.16).

You can **infer from what happened before and after each account**. I mean, apart from each account, there must have been a 'past' account and a 'future' account of the event. You could **reach a certain conclusion through comparing the 'past' [interpretation] with 'future' [interpretation]** (H-U2-6, Chang-Soo, M.16).

In Yoo-Hee's view, diligent research can reduce the number of reasonable interpretations of the past through the application of research methods. She assumes that historians are not so blinded by ideological orientations, or by commanding points of view, that they will not twist the information at their disposal. Possibly, for her, the aim of historical enquiry is less to do with settling the 'meaning' of the event than with providing reasons for seeing the past differently. For Chang-Soo, criteria for the comparison of rival accounts can be established through historicising each account. In his view, historical accounts are constantly revised as the viewpoints of historians change. As is the case with Yoo-Hee, Chang-Soo did not 'define acceptable knowledge in terms of an ever-increasing number of certainties' (Bevir, 1999: 97). What concerned him is the continuous modification of the interpretation of the past in ways that extend the range and vigour of historical understanding.

In conclusion, younger students tended to segue between discussion of everyday notions of an account and those of a historical account. These students seemed to employ, in Bevir's (1999: 109) phrase, 'pragmatic epistemologies, [which] equate justified knowledge with a pragmatic concept of truth, understood as a psychological or sociological account of the beliefs that actually do work best for people.' Moreover, these students seemed to equate objectivity with a view from nowhere. Pointing out the danger of equating objectivity with certainties, Bevir (2002: 212) argues that historical knowledge is justified in terms of a comparison between competing historical narratives:

> Knowledge can not be certain – based on appeals to pure facts. It must be provisional – justified by an anthoropological epistemology that provides

> criteria in terms of which to compare different interpretations, that is, different sets of postulated historical objects.

In contrast, some students began to attribute interpretive differences to the nature of a historical account, attempting to go beyond the binary opposition between history-as-actuality and history-as-record.[37] For those students, acknowledging that historical representations are negotiated, selective, present-orientated, and relative does not necessarily lead into insisting that the experiences they represent can be manipulated at will.

Summary

While the previous chapter focused on students' ideas about different filmic representations of the past, this chapter examined students' approaches to different historical accounts through two tasks. The analysis of students' responses to the first task (views on competing historical accounts) showed their ideas about the construction of historical knowledge: ranging from an exercise of individual whim through an expression of group interest to a grounded representation of past realities. The second half of this chapter charted students' responses to the second task (suggestions for deciding on a better historical account). Students' suggestions for a ground for selecting a better historical account centred on their views on the role of perspective in historical enquiry and its tension with objectivity in historical study. It is worth noting that a system of beliefs held by students in the organisation of historical knowledge is at work across the two tasks. For instance, while students who framed the issue of different historical accounts in terms of partisanship tended to deny any possibility of justifying the selection of a better historical account, those who acknowledged the constitutive role of perspective in historical study tended to suggest ways of assessing competing historical accounts. This pointed the researcher to the possibility of mapping the students' epistemological orientation by conducting a cross-task analysis (for

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[37] Danto (1965: 111) considers Beard's distinction between 'history-as-actuality' and 'history-as-record' misleading since it implies that 'it is the task of historian to seek to reproduce (via history-as-thought) the former by means of the latter.' As Danto (1965: 99-101) suggests, what is implicit in Beard's idea is that it entails the idea of knowledge as observation, although '*in the nature of the case* historians are obliged to aim, not at a reproduction but at a kind of organization of the past' (Danto's italics).

the analysis of the link between the two tasks, see Chapter 10). In the following chapter, students' approaches to the dynamics of the modification of historical representations are discussed.

Chapter 8. Establishing the relationship to the past: factors accounting for [non]alteration of films

In the previous chapter, students' conceptions of acceptable historical knowledge were explored, and their ideas about different versions of the past were mapped. In this chapter, questions of how students establish a relationship to the past will be pursued by investigating their perceptions of changing historical representations. Students' ideas about different representations across different periods can illustrate their ideas about revisions of history either in the domain of history as discipline (e.g. historians, who are prompted by new evidence or a new climate of opinion) or in the domain of history as cultural memory. As Kansteiner (2000: 197) puts it, 'when [does] a selection of the large stock of standard narratives and images about the past get produced and embraced?'

8.1. The Russian Revolution task

As indicated in Chapter 4, the two films used in the Russian Revolution task offer contrasts in terms of period, genre, and country of production. However, in both films, students' responses centred on the question of the extent to which the past in history can be changed, and if it was changed, what made these changes. In other words, in the face of the question in this task ('If these directors had experienced the collapse of the USSR like the narrators in Source R-1 and R-2 (see the box on the following page) would have they made their film in a different way?'), students mainly focused on establishing the relationship between the represented and its representation across different time periods. The chart on the following page demonstrates overall patterns of responses in the Russian Revolution task (Numbers in the chart represent students with responses falling into each category).[38]

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[38] Thirty-six students out of forty-four students in the Russian Revolution set gave a reason for alteration or non-alteration of the filmic representation. There was no student whose response fell into more than one category in this task.

Source R-1

[the Revolution was] an attempt to improve life, which initially had worthwhile goals - freedom, equality, fraternity, but the result is a result that we have [...] October was a struggle for equal rights, which then turned into a new form of inequality.

– An excerpt from interview with a 55-year-old woman working in finance in Moscow during 1992 and 1993, J. Wertsch and M. Rozin (1998) 'The Russian Revolution: Official and Unofficial Accounts' in J. Voss and M. Carretero, (eds.), *Learning and Reasoning in History: International Review of History Education Vol.2*, London: Woburn Press.

Source R-2

What failed in the USSR was not Communism at all - and if it failed (which it obviously did) it was not because it betrayed the people. Communism, with its aspiration to truer democracy, is as susceptible to perversion as other visions. But it will remain with us because it also embodies some of our highest ideals.

– C. Jacobson (1998) 'So What Did Collapse in 1991?', in M. Cox (ed.), *Rethinking the Soviet Collapse: Sovietology, the Death of Communism and the New Russia*, London and New York: Pinter.

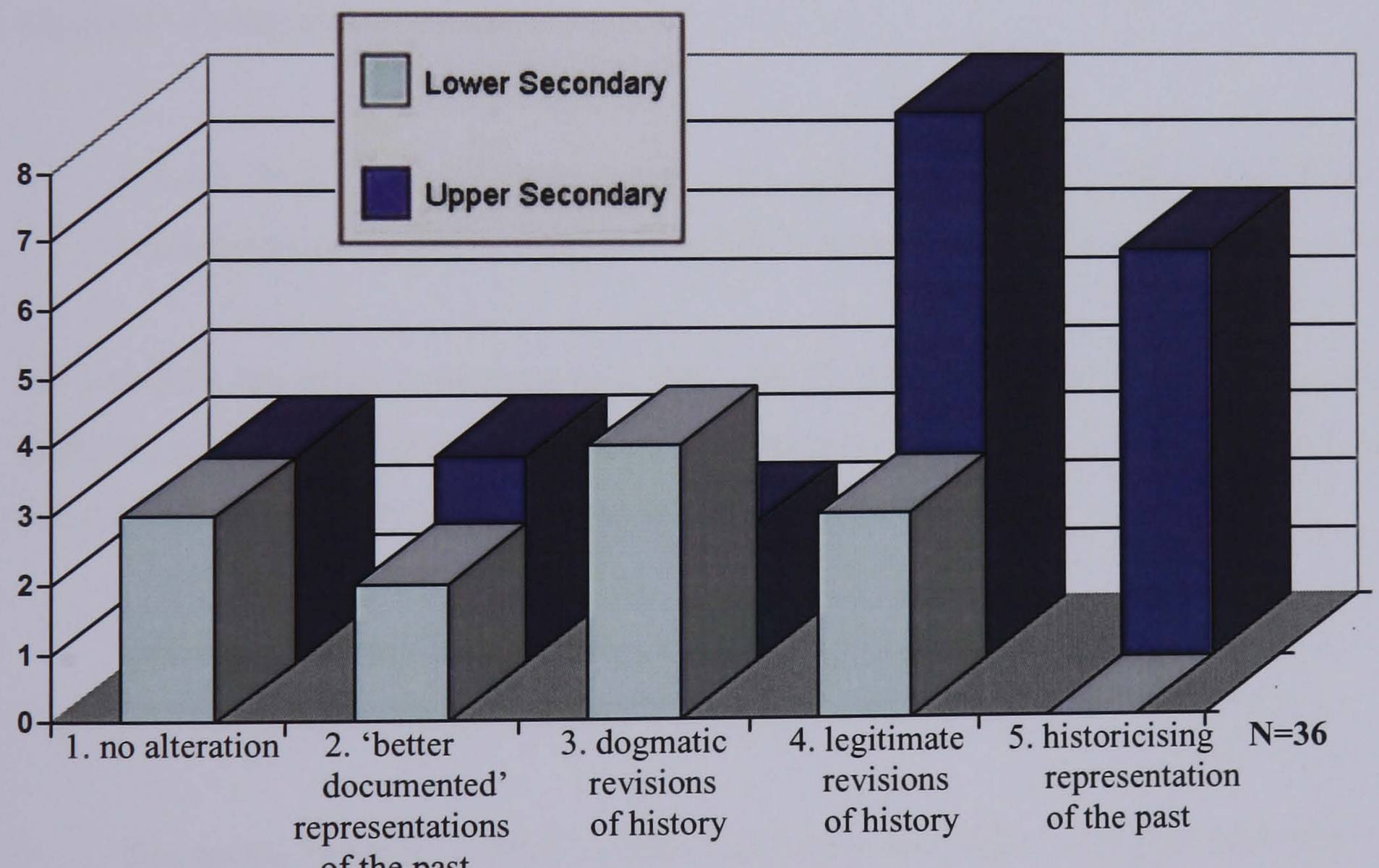

Figure 8.1. Factors accounting for the [non]alteration of representation of the past (Russian Revolution task)

As seen above, students' responses to the possibility of changing the filmic representation of the Russian Revolution in the post-Soviet era show a range of ideas from 1) no modification or 2) adding more information through 3) a revision based on practical interest to the

attribution of different significance to the event, based either on 4) the passage of time and the course of the event or on 5) the focus and scope of the historical representation in question. Older students tended to take into account the issue of relativity either to the present (category 4) or to the question (category 5) of historical representations, while younger students tended to draw attention to adding more information (category 2) or a revision based on partisanship (category 3). In the following sections, a discussion of each category will be provided, focusing on the way students wrestled with the question of the constant revision of history[39]

8.1.1. No alteration

In this category, students maintained that both films would have remained the same regardless of subsequent events:

> I don't think it would have made a big difference [...] Because things like revolution had happened in Russia, which is **a fact** (R-L2-5, Lee-Soo, F.14).

For Lee-Soo, the event in the past is 'a fact', which is fixed. In other words, the question of relativity of judgement of significance did not occur to her. Some older students also argued that no change would have been made, though for different reasons:

> I think nothing would have been changed [...] Regardless of the result, each film has got something to tell the audience, anyway (R-U2-2, Ho-Min, M.16).

> You mean, 'what if'... Well, I think that they would rather have decided not to shoot a film [...] If I were them, I would rather not make any film about the Revolution. Why bother? (R-U2-8, Jin-Cheol, M.17).

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[39] Dray (1995: 231) suggests four considerations with regard to scepticism: 1) the essential incompleteness of history 2) the ideality of history (the past exists only 'in idea') 3) the perspectival nature of enquiry 4) the constant revision of history. In this chapter, an analysis of students' responses will be centered upon the last issue, more specifically, retrospective judgements of significance; though it does not mean that other issues do not hinge on students' ideas about changing the past.

In these students' view, what concerned film directors most is complete mastery of the past, without paying an attention to the process of historical evolution. For them, as far as filmic representations of the past are concerned, our relationship to the past is less intense. On the other hand, students, who valued contemporary significance of the event, also viewed the Revolution as the 'autonomous past':

> In my view, the silent film would have remained more or less the same [...] Did you say that the film was commissioned by the government? For that reason [...] The **significance of the Revolution would have been carried on**... (R-L3-2, Joon-Ki, M.15).

> It would have been the same! [...] You know, even when you look at the result of the event, **the truth of the process would remain the same**, anyway [...] **No matter what happened next**, the truth would remain the same. I still think both films would have remained the same. I mean [...] Even though the Revolution didn't go well... But, at least Lenin tried to do something to make his idea come true, like, building up a Utopia, an ideal state. You can't say that it went all wrong, because **there was nothing wrong with his initial thoughts** (R-L3-5, Hwan-Soo, M.14).

Joon-Ki appeared to regard *October* as a kind of testimony about the past, obliterating the distance between past and present. In Hwan-Soo's case, the process of the event in the past was viewed as a known truth. Moreover, for him, Communist ideals can be seen as part of the literal past. Joon-Ki and Hwan-Soo seemed to aspire to make judgements of significance from past standpoints rather than from their own, assuming that what would have been 'true' for people in the past is 'true' for people in the present. Eun-Seo also highlighted the contemporary significance of the event:

> I guess that the colour film would have portrayed the Revolution in a more negative fashion. In the case of the black and white film, there wouldn't have been much change. Even though the Revolution failed, the **significance of the**

event didn't just disappear. Looking back, there have been lots of political reforms in history. Even though some of those failed, people kept the record, **remaining proud of what it meant to them at that time** (R-U1-2, Eun-Seo, F.16).

Unlike Lee-Soo, Eun-Seo acknowledges that pespectival elements are time-bound; in Dray's (1995: 260) phrase, 'what is known is not how they were but what they have been changed into.' However, she seems to be reluctant to judge the importance of the historical event on the basis of what it was turned into later, echoing Collingwood's idea of intrinsic importance.

8.1.2. 'Better documented' representations of the past

Like the previous group, students in this category valued facticity in the sense that the past in history is a given, waiting to be discovered. What differentiated them from the previous group is the fact that they began to acknowledge, in Phillips' (2004: 91) phrase, 'the possibility of the new (and generally, it is thought, improved) perspectives that are conferred by the passage of time.' However, amongst younger students, what concerned them most was being 'truthful' to the past, or better still, getting it right, aiming at a revival of the past.

(Extract R-L2-A)

> Int.: If these directors had experienced the collapse of the USSR, would have they made their film in a different way?
>
> Jeong-Ho (R-L2-2, M.14): To my reckoning, the directors would have been more faithful to the truth [...] You know, since the films had been released, there must **have been lots of publications** about the Revolution, which they hadn't known then.
>
> Sang-Jin (R-L2-1, F.13): You're right. Not only books but also films, which deal with the event. Consequently, they would have **put more facts** in the film to make it look more real.
>
> Jeong-Ho: Of course, what had happened can't be changed. You know, you can't fabricate things that didn't happen. What matters is how to give a lesson, in order not to repeat the same mistake. Therefore, they would have made a

more real film.

Sang-Jin: In a word, **a more accurate film**!

As seen above, both students emphasised the importance of integrating newly found facts into an existing body of knowledge about the event, which does not necessarily lead to a new perspective. Rather, Sang-Jin and Jeong-Ho simply assigned distance from the past a positive value, equating it with a kind of clarity that comes with the passage of time, accompanied by the accumulation of information. In other words, for them, historical representations differ at a given time, varying with the total body of evidence available, thus continuously being revised in the light of superior present knowledge or improved techniques of enquiry.

For older students, distance from the past appeared to beg the question of the scope of historical representation. However, it is not clear to what extent they recognise narrative as 'a vehicle of retrospective historical understanding'. As Dray (1995: 314) elaborates, 'narrative intelligibility is established not only by explanatory judgements, but also by judgements of significance, the latter requiring the historian to take up a retrospective standpoint.'

> In my view, the black and white film [*October*] ended just after the October Revolution had happened, showing the establishment of the Communist regime, I mean, **well before the collapse of the system**. For that reason, the black and white film wouldn't have changed a lot (R-U2-5, Min-Jae, M.17).

> In the case of the black and white film…well […] Hum, maybe, just a little change would be enough […] It [*October*] would show how the War had started and ended in the same way as before, like, showing the part related to the War. And, **changing the way it had presented the development of Revolution** (R-U1-4, Ji-Seon, F.16).

> Well, they [a Russian citizen and a historian] said that while the ideal itself was great, the Revolution failed. I don't think they [film directors] would have made

the film in a different way just because the result of the Revolution turned out to be a disaster. […] In my view, the second one [*Reds*] wouldn't have been altered in a significant way. In contrast, the first one [*October*] would have **covered the story, like, what went wrong after the Revolution** (R-U2-7, Jeong-Jae, M.16).

In Min-Jae's view, *October* would not have been changed in a significant way since its scope never intended to cover the post-Soviet era. In a similar fashion, Ji-Seon and Jeong-Jae maintained that *October* would have remained the same as far as its theme was concerned. If there was any change, it would have been added as a kind of post-story, or better still, the deterioration of the Revolution. Perhaps, it is safer to say that students perceived distance from the past not only as a simple function of temporality but also as a factor for changing cognitive assumptions about the past. Historical conclusions are reached on the basis of making certain judgments of importance. As Dray (1995: 260) emphasises, 'although things in the past were a certain way before they become objects of historical study, historian's gaining knowledge of them retrospectively changes their nature.'

8.1.3. Dogmatic revisions of history (relativity to the present)

Compared to the previous group, in this category, questions about distance were often directed to a history's ideological impact. For them, a 'perspectival view of the past' (Dray, 1995: 280) was produced by 'personal' points of view, the illegitimate factor of prejudice. In particular, students tended to attribute the factors of possible changes in films to a reversal of the evaluation of the Soviet era, stressing the purpose and origin of the filmic representation of the Russian Revolution, that is, partisan engagement:

The way the film shows Communists would have been changed, like, illustrating Lenin as an evil […] You know, it would **be a shame on the director if a heroic figure like Lenin in his film receives completely different appraisal later** (H-L2-10, Eun-Hwa, F.12).

Well, in the case of the silent film…Has there been **a change of government**

since the disintegration of the USSR? [...] In that case, the way the Revolution was described could have been altered, I mean, taking a **critical stance towards the Revolution** [...] I don't think there would have been any significant change in the color film (R-L3-3, Ki-Beom, M.15).

> Of course, the film would have been more critical! [...] I guess both films would have been altered, like, being **more critical towards the Revolution**. Because the USSR has already disappeared, **who cares about criticism about the regime?** [...] **Because the old power elites of the Communist party have lost their power**, there would be **no need to care about what they would have thought of the content of the film** (R-L2-2, Eu-Yeol, M.14).

In Eun-Hwa's view, the impact of a new development of historical processes is likely to lead to a radical change of representation, invalidating existing views about historical agents. Similarly, Ki-Beom suggested that the fall of the Soviet regime would bring about a more negative approach to the Revolution. Furthermore, Eu-Yeol explicitly pointed out the ideological implications of distance from the past, referring to a political condition that made criticism against the Soviet era more likely. In the following extract, students elucidated what could bring about different representations of the past:

(Extract R-L2-A)

> Int.: Do you think the extent of change would have been the same between two films?
>
> Eu-Yeol (M.14): It depends on which ideology the director supports.
>
> Int.: Humm.
>
> Sang-Jin (F.13): It depends on the director's idea, I think.
>
> Eu-Yeol: Rather, which **value** matters to them.
>
> Sang-Jin: A sort of **standard**, I mean.
>
> Eu-Yeol: Simply put, which **ideology** they are into, like, Communism or democracy.
>
> Sang-Jin: (jokingly) No wonder. I have always thought you're into Communism.
>
> Int.: Right. Which director do you think supports socialism?

Eu-Yeol: That's the director of the black and white film.

Sang-Jin: Of course, that's the black and white film director.

Jeong-Ho (M.14): Neither of them was genuine. Well, the black and white film director might be the one.

Eu-Yeol: Come on! Definitely, the black and white film director is the one.

Int.: How do you know?

Sang-Jin: In the colour film [*Reds*], there was a scene, in which the two characters were arguing with each other. In the black and white film [*October*], there wasn't any scene like that. **The only thing it showed was how everybody had supported Soviet Russia full-heartedly**.

[…]

Int.: Of course, the scene was played by an actress. But, Emma was a real person.

Jeong-Ho: Did she really say that?

Int.: Well, I'm not so sure.

Jeong-Ho: If she didn't say like that, **what she said on screen implies what the director had in his mind**, I think.

Int.: Are you saying that the line was added by the director?

Jeong-Ho: Yeah. The line wasn't what the auntie really said at that time.

These students expected that *October* would have been altered in a more significant way due to its director's single, committed perspective – in the case of *October*, a strong support for Communism. For Jeong-Ho, *Reds* is also a case of manipulation of the past: for example, characters in *Reds* were deployed in order to voice the director's concerns. Naturally, some students tended to contrast the two films in terms of the intentions of the directors, thus assigning a dramatic change to *October*:

There would have been some changes […] In particular, in the case of the black and white film, things would have been portrayed **from a negative perspective, since it was made by Russians**. Don't you think? I mean, after all, the revolution was doomed to fail. Since it **[*Reds*] didn't really aim to present the Russian Revolution in the first place, [there wouldn't have been many**

changes]. It's more to do with the American reporters (R-L3-4, Sang-Woo, M.15).

[The black and white film would have been changed more than the colour film] You know, the black and white film **[*October*] was a kind of project, which has got a certain purpose.** You said that the director was commissioned by the Russian government? (R-U2-25, Mi-Jin, F.16).

If they had known the result of the Revolution, the Russian government wouldn't have asked the director to make a film in the first place, I mean, **not in the way it [*October*] portrayed the Revolution, celebrating what Bolsheviks achieved**. […] I think, in the case of the colour film **[*Reds*], there wouldn't have been a reporter, who supports the Socialist Revolution**, as a main character in the first place (Int.: Right. Do you think both films could have been altered? What would make these changes?) You know, even if individuals have got own idea, like, trying to cling to their faith, there is no choice but to **follow the trend of the period** (R-U2-9, Young-Jae, M.17).

In Sang-Woo's view, *October* was designed to make the past moment present in order to magnify the political impact, which was not the case with *Reds* ('Since it [*Reds*] didn't really aim to present the Russian Revolution in the first place, ['there wouldn't have been many changes]'). In a similar fashion, Mi-Jin attributed the determinant of change to *October*'s task of positioning its audience in relation to the past ('[*October*] was a kind of project, which has got a certain purpose'). Interestingly, Young-Jae suggested that *Reds* would have different narratives in which the main character's perspective would be less committed ('in the case of the colour film [*Reds*], there wouldn't have been a reporter who supports the Socialist Revolution'), thus diminishing the proximity or immediacy of the Revolution. Furthermore, for Young-Jae, a filmic representation can hardly escape the period it belongs to ('there is no choice but to follow the trend of the period'), thus reflecting the 'purposeful uses of the past' (Seixas, 2004: 5) at a given time. Moreover, for them, present interests function as a defining factor for representations of the past, thus walking a thin line between presentism and retrospective understanding. However, there are signs that they are beginning

to understand that judgments of the significance of events are relative not only to 'personal' points of view but also to the actual course of history up to the time of their [historians'] judgment (Dray, 1995: 300).

8.1.4. Legitimate revisions of history (relativity to the present)

In the previous category, students acknowledged that the passage of time could bring radical changes into representations of the past, or rather dogmatic revisions of history. In this category, students also attributed interpretive differences to the renewal of perspective at a particular time. However, compared to the previous group, responses in this category viewed the role of perspective in historical representations as a legitimate factor, chiming with the responses in Chapter 7.1.5 ('perspective as a cognitive tool'). Moreover, there was an awareness of 'a significance which actions or events, by virtue of their consequences, have accumulated through time' (Dray, 1995: 299).

> I think that experience matters. I mean, **if you didn't live through things, you would be more likely to rely on mere speculation or inaccurate information**. Conversely, **if you had some experiences, you could be more informed about the reality of the society, thus describing the event in a more realistic way** […] Of course, there would have been **a change to some degree in terms of perspective** […] I mean, the way they portray the event would have been altered on the basis of what they had experienced (R-L2-4, Ho-Won, F.13).

In Ho-Won's case, 'experience' played an important role in shaping historical accounts partly because it is first-hand knowledge in nature. According to her, 'experience' is such a force that accumulated experiences are likely to give rise to a more 'realistic' representation of the past. For Ho-Won, the impact of experience in historical representations lies somewhere in between 'inherited perspective' and 'perspective as a cognitive tool' (see Chapter 7). However, clearly, Ho-Won noticed that *Reds* was not a transparent window for the past, rather a medium through which historical reality is transferred:

> Int.: What do you think of the way the director presented the argument [between

Jack and Emma]?

[…]

Ho-Won: The director had no choice but to make Jack's view look powerful because he is a leading guy in the film.

Int.: Right. You mean, what Emma played is just a supporting role?

> Ho-Won: But, how shall I put it? In a way, **the director also seemed to make a case for a negative view on the Revolution through showing the validity of her point**.

Like Ho-Won, Min-Seop recognised that *Reds* was not a value-free construction of the past, characterising it as a more committed work than *October*:

> Because **the event was viewed not from the Russians' perspective but from the Americans' interpretation of the Revolution, the film [*Reds*] itself would have been altered.** I mean, **'cos the USSR has collapsed, something would have happened to the point of views** which the film was holding. (Int.: Then, what about the black and white film?) Since **it presents historical fact as it was**…(Int.: You mean, there isn't any point of view?) No. **I've got a feeling that I was seeing the facts as they were** (R-U2-2, Min-Seop, M.16).

There is a discrepancy of Min-Seop's approaches to the two films in that he did not subject *October* to any alterations of its representation of the event. This can be partly attributed to the fact that Min-Seop regarded *October* as more 'factual' than *Reds* due to its newsreel-like appearance. While *October* was considered as a kind of historical record, *Reds* was viewed as an 'interpretation' of the event, which is more prone to changes according to the subsequent events.

Jin-Young also pointed out that *Reds* is not a neutral medium, which is a product of the period:

> In my view, the colour film [***Reds***] wouldn't have been changed a lot. Jack, the main character seemed regretful, showing negative views about the Revolution.

> I mean, **already there was a criticism** against the regime, **a kind of warning for other states that the USSR was far from a model country, which proved to be true nowadays**. You know, in the colour film, Jack was aware of what went wrong over the period of the Revolution, already disappointed by what the Revolution brought about. In contrast, in the black and white film [***October***], **the Revolution was presented as a very noble act**, something you can be very proud of. If the director had known the result of the Revolution, the film would have been altered. For example, in the scene of storming the Winter Palace, the **mob would have been portrayed as less heroic figures** (R-L2-11 Jin-Young, F.13).

In Jin-Young's view, *Reds* would not have been changed in a significant way, not because it was perspective-free but because it contained a more privileged view on the Revolution, with the help of hindsight ('already there was a criticism against the regime, a kind of warning for other states that the USSR was far from a model country'). For her, compared to *Reds*, *October* would have been altered more since it contained a kind of partisanship ('the Revolution was presented as a very noble act, something you can be very proud of'). With regard to the kind of change, Jin-Young suggested a shift from a positive approach to the Revolution to a negative one, via the dilution of the impact of the heroic images ('the mob would have been portrayed as less heroic figures'). In the following, she articulates her reason for an alteration [or, non-alteration], by comparing the positioning of the two films:

> As I said before, the colour film [***Reds***] **described the Revolution in a negative way in the first place**. Obviously, **a film about the Revolution after the disintegration of the Soviet Union is likely to make a point about what went wrong with the revolution**. Having said that, the **colour film doesn't need to swing from one extreme to another in terms of way of describing the Revolution**. Clearly, since the black and white film was far more affirmative about the Revolution than the colour film was, it is the **black and white film that would have shown a radical shift of point of view from positive to negative towards the Revolution**. Just one more thing. The black and white film would have included more characters who didn't believe in

> Lenin's ideas and those who're against his line (R-L2-11 Jin-Young, F.13).

As seen above, in Jin-Young's view, *Reds* did not need much revision since it already confirms a shared view on the Revolution in the post-Soviet era. It is *October* that would have been transformed into a different reflection of the past, juxtaposing Lenin's line with an alternative path, which had not been taken at that time.

Jeong-Min also attempted to set a film against the particular context within which it would have been shaped:

> Jeong-Min (M.16): I guess they would have considered what happened next, like, taking into account what went wrong and including the main reason for the failure.
> […]
> Jeong-Min: To my reckoning, the black and white film is the one that would have been changed in a more dramatic way.
> Int.: Why do you think so?
> Jeong-Min: Just a second! When did the director die?
> Int.: I think he had died before Stalin came into power [*sic*].
> Jeong-Min: I see.
> […]
> Jeong-Min: In my view, **they intended to deliver the ideal of the Revolution at that time. That's why the director made the film in the way the Revolution was celebrated**. The thing is, the Communist policy **failed to deliver the ideal in the end**, leading to the fall of the USSR. Having said that, the new film would have been different, like, **including the negative view about the regime**.

For Jeong-Min, the film director of *October* (Sergei Eisenstein) aimed to represent the way the Revolution was perceived at that time: his approach to this task resonated with responses in the first category (No-alteration: contemporary significance). However, in Jeong-Min's view, *October* would have been bound to be altered in an attempt to comprehend the

subsequent events. What concerned him seems to be that historical representations are subject to constant revisions in order not to lose explanatory power. In the case of Jeong-Min, it is not clear to what extent he segues filmic representations with historical reconstruction in general. In the following extract, Seong-Joon and Yeon-Joo discuss possible changes to the films in terms of filmic representations of the past in particular.

(Extract R-U1-B)

Seong-Joon (M.17): You know, **he might have been forced to make the film that way at that time under pressure** from the government. Given the fall of the USSR, what **he and others had cared for before became meaningless**. In my reckoning, **the film would have viewed the event in a more universal way.**

Int.: Don't you think that what Lenin did would have remained the same as before?

Seong-Joon: At the moment, the way the film [*October*] described what Lenin did is kind of over the top.

Int.: Right.

Seong-Joon: If the director were asked to make another film about the Revolution, **the exaggerated part would have been changed, like, making it less glamorous.**

Int.: Right.

Seong-Joon: For example, **through editing, he could have taken out the excited mob welcoming Lenin** in the railway station scene.

Int.: What would you say if it was true that there were joyful people in the station.

Seong-Joon: Even if so, he could have made the scene shorter than before.

Int.: Right. What do you think, Yeon-Joo?

Yeon-Joo (F.16): I think **the welcoming scene would have remained the same**. In addition to this, in my view, **the director would have put other scenes showing criticism about what Lenin did.**

Int.: Right.

Seong-Joon: What I'm trying to say is that **the director would have described what's happening as 'facts', not more than that.**

Int.: Right. Yeon-Joo, you mean, the director would have put some scenes, which show disapproval or criticism about Lenin, like, covering what Lenin's opponents argued for.

Yeon-Joo: That's right.

Seong-Joon: You see? **That's how the directors' perspective works in cinema.** Ha-Ha-Ha! **A film about a particular event could become a totally different film, even if the event that both films are dealing with is the same one.** It all depends on how the director views things, like, how much he or she supports the ideal of Communism.

Int.: Hum. For example, how Communist he or she is determines…

Seong-Joon: (taking a turn) the characteristic or the nature of the film.

Int.: Right. You mean, the nature of films could have been changed according to the director's belief?

Seong-Joon: That's right.

Of course, as seen above, Seong-Joon is not exceptional in that he points out *October* would have been altered along with the change of the climate of opinion ('what he and others had cared for before became meaningless. In my reckoning, the film would have viewed the event in a more universal way'). However, it is worth noting that Seong-Joon and Yeon-Joo approached the question in the light of the film editors' role: that is, the question of how to tell the story through using 'cut-and-paste' ('through editing, he could have taken out the excited mob welcoming Lenin in the railway station scene'; 'the director would have put other scenes showing criticism about what Lenin did'). Seong-Joon seemed to consider the role of directors' perspective as a determinant of the changing character of filmic representations of the past. For him, it is partisan engagement that fuels the production of new and alternative representations of the past ('A film about a particular event could become a totally different film, even if the event both films are dealing with is the same one. It all depends on how the director views things, like, how much he or she supports the ideal of Communism').

For some students, historical representations are determined by this kind of engagement. In addition, there was a tendency for students to equate objectivity with political neutrality, thus, in Phillips' (2004: 98) phrase, 'making it difficult to characterize the difference between merely partisan work and the kind of considered non-neutrality that results from a deeply held politics.' In the following, Woo-Jin and Yoo-Hee considered *October* as 'less objective', thus more likely to be changed to a great extent towards a 'more objective' study of the past.

> Both films would have been changed, though to different degrees. I also think that the black and white film would have been altered more than the colour film would have been. […] Basically, I think that **both films would have taken more objective views about the Revolution, particularly the black and white film** would have (Int.: Why do you think the black and white film is not objective?) You know, the black and white film intended to commemorate the Revolution. That's **why it wasn't objective in the first place** (R-U1-1, Woo-Jin, M.15).

> First of all, the directors would have shot the event in a negative way […] The black and white film would have been affected more […] Those kinds of scenes [the scene of storming of the Winter Palace, etc.] wouldn't have been affected. But, as far as the scene in which Lenin appeared is concerned, the way it portrayed Lenin would have been changed to a less celebratory way […] You know, compared to the black and white film, **the colour film maintained a more objective perspective**. For that reason, the colour film would have been changed less than the black and white film would have been. In the case of **the black and white film, the way it portrayed Lenin would have been changed to less celebratory way** […] **Hang on! In 1980s, what was the U.S. like? Was it still in the Cold-war period?** (Int.: Yes, still pretty much. The U.S was in the control of a Republican government. But, things were about to change. For example, in 1989, the Berlin War came down. Why are you asking?) **I think that also influenced the production of the colour film** (R-U2-19, Yoo-Hee, F.16).

What sets students in this category 4 (legitimate revisions of history) apart from those in the category 3 (dogmatic revisions of history) is their acknowledgement of a tension between ideological orientation and commanding points of view. However, what puzzled students in this group is the fact that the very dynamic is contingent on unfolding events; in fact, 'retrospective judgements of significance will change not just with changes in historians, but with changes in the process studied, which continually terminates at a different point' (Dray, 1995: 300). As a result, Yong-Beom and Joon-Soo suggest the separation of an 'intended' past from an 'unintended' one while Hye-Da characterises *October* as a premonition of the 'doomed future' of the Revolution, a kind of 'false expectation about the past carried over from knowledge of the present' (Dray, 1995: 319):

> In my view, if there is any change, it would be the case with the black and white film. […] How shall I put it? At the moment, what the black and white film shows is the Russian Revolution itself, which was led by Lenin. But, you know, if it had been made after 1991, it is very likely that **the film would have portrayed the result of the Revolution in a negative way.** (Int.: You mean, because the Revolution didn't deliver Communist ideals… Then, would the director have shot the beginning of the Revolution in a different way? Isn't it just a fact, which we can't change?) I mean, what the revolution intended to do was right. The thing is that the USSR didn't get it right. (Int.: So, the way in which the purpose of the revolution was described would have remained the same?) That's right (R-L3-6, Yong-Beom, M.14).

> In a different way, I guess […] 'Cos the Revolution failed after all […] I think only the black and white one would have been altered […] You know, the director [Eisenstein] assumed the revolution would build up an equal society. But, things turned out to be different, ending up with a different form of inequality, say, Bolshevik autocracy. If the director would have known that, he would have shot the event from a more negative angle. I mean, **portraying the Bolsheviks in a negative way while still valuing the Revolution** (R-U2-3, Joon-Soo, M.15).

> I think the colour film [*Reds*] would have remained almost the same [...] I've got the impression that even the man [Jack] also acknowledged what had gone wrong. As you can see in the black and white film [*October*], the Revolution came into a reality, in a way. But, there was an impressive scene, in which a man fell and died while the mob stormed the palace. Even though the Revolution was an attempt to make the world better, trying to bring about individual happiness, it has ended up with building up a system at the expense of individuals. In a way, their ideal remained unfulfilled, still, hanging in the air of Russia. What I'm trying to say is that any ideal political system could betray individual expectation about happiness, which is the most important thing. **If the film [*October*] had tried to portray the situation, it shouldn't have justified the cause of the Revolution**. Well...because the film [*October*] was a propaganda film, the revolution couldn't be presented in a negative way. In contrast, since the **colour film [*Reds*] presented the event in a more balanced way than the black and white film did, there is no need to alter the way of filming.** Particularly, given what the woman [Emma] said to the man, the film had already implied the doomed nature of the Revolution, like a premonition. Do you remember their conversation, like, people were dying not because of war or famine but because of the system, which didn't work. You know, revolution can be often turned into a cold bureaucratic system (R-U2-22, Hye-Da, F.17).

Manifestly, there were traces of 'revisionary retrospective judgments', which provide us 'not how the past really was, but only how it appears from later standpoints' (Dray, 1995: 317). In contrast, there was also an uneasiness about changing the past. As Dray (1995: 317) puts it, 'the past cannot change [...] in the sense that what at an earlier time was an agent's reason for performing an action later became something else [...].' In a sense, responses in this category voice a concern about the connection 'between retrospectivity in historical judgment and a tendency to represent the past in anachronistic ways' (Dray, 1995: 318).

8.1.5. Historicising representations of the past (relativity to questions)

Like the previous group, responses in this group also showed an awareness that the pespectival nature of enquiry is contingent on a position occupied in time. As Dray (1995: 299) points out, 'perspectival elements like systems of concepts or values are [...] time-bound in the sense that they are held, and brought to bear upon the interpretation of the past, at particular times.' In addition to this, what concerns these students is 'relativity to questions':

> In the case of the black and white film [*October*], if it had aimed to portray the Revolution only, there wouldn't have been much change. You know, the revolution meant to do good for Russian people at that time. For that reason, **if the purpose of film making were confined to describing the October Revolution, there would be no reason to alter it in the present** [...] Not much change in the colour film [*Reds*], either [...] What I'm trying to say is that **it depends on the coverage of the period.** If their [two directors'] films covered the later stage of the regime, negative perspective would come into play (R-U2-4, In-Beom, M.16).

It depends on the director's intention I mean, **if they had aimed to cover the Revolution as it was, there would have been no change.** Instead, **if they decided to consider the result of the Revolution, they would have covered the dark side of it** (Int.: You mean, if the directors had borne what happened next in mind, they would have tried to deal with what the revolution has done to the society?) Not only that. But **also what kind of problem lurked in the Revolution from the very beginning** (R-U2-13, Jeong-Seok, M.17).

As illustrated above, In-Beom and Jeong-Seok draw more attention to the film directors' responses to different assemblages of questions rather than relativity to their position in time: in Dray's (1995: 305) words, 'a judgement of importance becomes relative to a problem posed more than to a position occupied in time.' Arguably, they recognised the fact that the past necessarily appeared from a certain point of view. In addition to this, there was

an awareness of the contingently contextual and changing character of historical reality in a methodological sense. As Dray (1995: 300) elaborates, 'it is not that, at every moment, historians may construct a new and different "historical" past, but that, at every moment, they will have an extension of the real past to consider.'

In conclusion, students' ideas about establishing a relationship to the past appears to hinge on their perception of the role that perspective plays in historical enquiry. For some students, historical significance remains the same since the past is a historical entity, which is fixed. On the other hand, for others, historical significance changes for either ontological (differing at a given time) or epistemological reasons (having to be constantly revised). Arguably, students' ideas about [non]alteration of the past in filmic representations are linked to their ideas about changes in viewpoint in historical study, mainly either in an empirical or cultural sense rather than in a methodological sense. Therefore, it is important to provide an opportunity for students to encounter the 'history of history'. Dray (1995: 293) points out the 'perspectivally presentist' nature of the history of historical enquiry; all history is thus 'a report on the progress made in the study of its subject down to the present' (Collingwood, 1930: 138 quoted in Dray, 1995: 294).

8.2. The Holocaust task

In the previous section (the Russian Revolution task), students' ideas about relationships to the past hinged on retrospective judgments of significance, touching upon the issue of relativity to the present. Naturally, this can be attributed to the fact that the Russian Revolution received radical reinterpretation following the break-up of the Soviet Union. In contrast, in this section (the Holocaust task), students' responses mainly centre upon the limits of the relativity of historical representation. Clearly, this has something to do with the fact that the Holocaust is considered as a kind of limiting case in history. In the following, the way students responded to the question ('If these directors had encountered criticism such as in Source H-1 and Source H-2 would have they have made the film in a different way?') will be discussed (for the written sources provided for the Holocaust task, see the box on p.264).

The chart below shows a range of responses to the question of the revision of the filmic past in the Holocaust task.

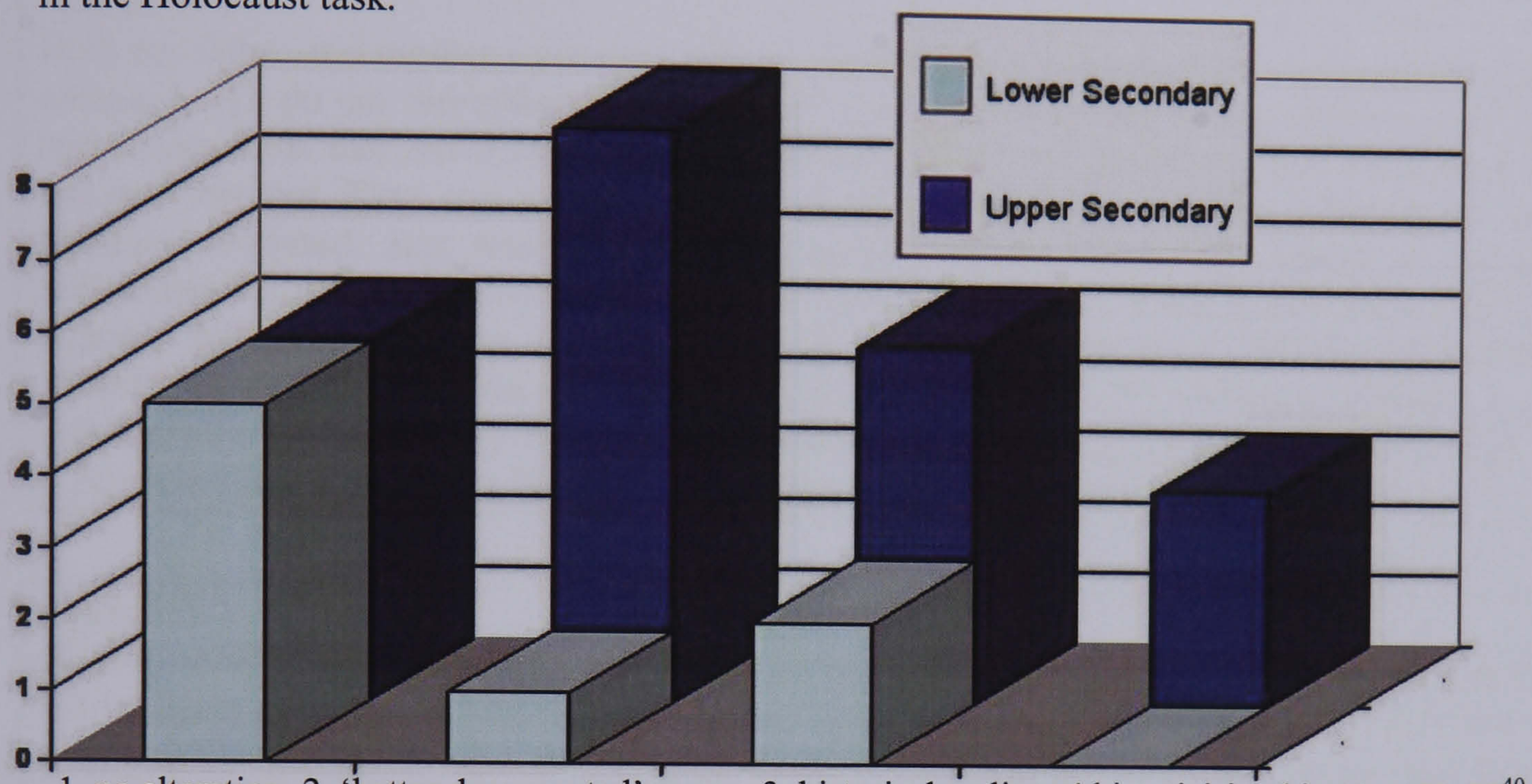

Figure 8.2. Factors accounting for the [non]alteration of representation of the past (the Holocaust task)

As illustrated above, students in the Holocaust task were more cautious when suggesting possible changes in filmic representations than those in the Russian Revolution task. Students who denied any possibility of changing the filmic representation of the Holocaust (category 1: no alteration) based their ideas either on the autonomy of the past (category 1.1: the autonomous past) or on the arbitrariness of historical representations (category 1.2: complete mastery of past). Responses that suggested a direction for a 'better' filmic representation of the Holocaust ranged from calling for a more balanced (or, rather 'perspective-free') documentation of the event (category 2: 'better documented' representations of the past) through using the past as a warehouse of resources for the present (category 3: historical reality as practical knowledge) to a reflection on the relativity of historical representation (category 4: historicising history). Overall, younger students either struggled to give a reason for possible changes or dismissed the idea of revisions of a

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[40] Twenty-seven students responded to the question. N here denotes number of responses that fall into each category. There were three students (Tae-Jin H-L2-3, Jin-Wook H-U2-1, and Song-Joo H-U2-4) whose responses fell into two different categories.

given historical representation.[41] In the following sections, each category of students' ideas on a modification of the filmic representation of the Holocaust will be discussed.

Source H-1
Both my father and mother were survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto and the Nazi concentration camps. […] I do not remember the Nazi Holocaust ever intruding on my childhood. […] I sometimes think that American Jewry "discovering" the Nazi Holocaust was worse than its having forgotten. True, my parents brooded in private; the suffering they endured was not publicly validated. But wasn't it better than the current crass exploitation of Jewish martyrdom? […] it has been used to justify criminal policies of the Israeli state and US support for these policies. […] In the face of the sufferings of African-Americans, Vietnamese and Palestinians, my mother's credo was: "We are all holocaust victims". […] And isn't the normal history of humankind replete with horrifying chapters of inhumanity?
– Norman Finkelstein, 'The Business of Death', in *Guardian*, 12th. July. 2000

Source H-2
If you refuse to share the earth with other races […] Whites, you have pity for the fate of white. Europeans, you inflate a family quarrel into a world war and crime without limitation. […] you elevate the Jews – that is, your own – to the dignity of a condemned race or of chosen martyrs, in order to make people forget, by your one-time ordeal, the cruelties that you have never ceased to inflict upon the races of the south […] echoed and amplified by the huge force of the media at your disposal […] in spite of all your efforts, the manipulation has failed […] it is humanity itself that bursts out laughing, and which says that *your* disaster is not *its* business (Finkielkraut's italics).
– Vergès's defence for Klaus Barbie, quoted in Alan Finkielkraut (2000), 'Remembering in Vain: the Klaus Barbie Trial and Crimes against Humanity', in Omer Bartov (ed.), *The Holocaust: Origins, Implementation, Aftermath*, London and New York: Routledge, pp.273-301.

8.2.1. No alteration

a. The autonomous past

As is the case with Russian Revolution set, students in this category viewed the Holocaust as the autonomous past:

> Why change? No matter how strong a criticism about film-making was, **what happened would remain the same**, anyway. I don't see any reason to alter

[41] Only seven out of nineteen middle school students in the Holocaust set gave a reason for an alteration or non-alteration of the filmic past (in the case of upper-secondary level, twenty out of thirty-three high school students grounded their decisions for changing filmic representations).

their films (H-L2-4, Min-Soo, M.13).

It could be slightly different in terms of style or the way the event is presented. But, **the content itself would have remained the same** (H-U2-9, Min-Ho, M.16).

> After all, the directors **intended to inform about how horrible the Holocaust was**. I mean, **they didn't mean to use the films for a political agenda**. If different directors make a film about the same event, there could be a change, like, something more critical … (H-U2-4, Song-Joo, M.16).

As seen above, for Min-Soo and Min-Ho, there was no reason to alter the films since past actualities constitute the 'content' of the film. They appear to consider historical reality as a fixed entity as far as filmic representations of the Holocaust are concerned. For Song-Joo, both *Schindler's List* and *Shoah* are 'innocent' films, which function as recollections of the past without any 'hidden' agendas.

b. Complete mastery of the past

On the surface, the responses in this group appear to take for granted that the past is given. However, students in this group seem to acknowledge the 'situatedness' of historical practice as far as filmic representation of the past is concerned. In what follows, students shrug off the idea of alterations of films, though for different reasons:

> I think that it is **unnecessary to make films about the painful past** (H-L2-7, Eun-Jin, F.13).

> As the source 1 argues, there is a possibility of commodification of the past, which **could hurt Holocaust survivors**. But, as far as **every director has his own creed**, why change? (H-U2-3, Seok-Bin, M.16).

As seen above, first of all, students agreed with Source H-1 in that there is a danger of the

purposeful use of the past for its potential either for economic exploitation (in Seok-Bin's case) or for psychological damage (in both cases). However, in Seok-Bin's view, the line of Source H-1 is not convincing enough since film directors have a 'right' to tell a story on the basis of their viewpoints on the subject matter. In a similar vein, other students also stressed some characteristics of the ways in which filmic representations were generated and circulated:

> It [an attempt to make a film about the Holocaust] is worthy. But, … How shall I put it? […] You know, film-making is a kind of business, I mean, it's got to make a commercial success. Given that purpose, they would not have any choice but to shoot a film in a different way in order to attract an audience, like, **they've got to have something new to show** (H-L3-1, Young-Bin, M.14).

> Well, at least, they would have responded to that kind of criticism, I guess. **No film could be a great success without appreciation by critics and the public in general**. I mean, film directors have to 'get it right', otherwise, their film wouldn't be well received (H-L2-5, Dong-Han, M.13).

For Young-Bin, it is the nature of the film industry itself that creates different representations of the past. In the case of Dong-Han, what matters for film directors is responding to the current climate of opinion or cultural milieu. For both of them, filmic representations of the event 'ought to' create a diversity in representation of the past in order to match up to public expectations of the film industry. In a similar fashion, some students draw attention to the ways filmic representations are consumed:

> In my view, you've **got to differentiate what the directors intended to do with their film from what they didn't intend, like, the unintentional effect of the film**. How can you be so sure what the director tried to convey? It could be a genuine attempt to let people know how tragic the event was. I mean, it doesn't necessarily have something to do with making a profit (H-L2-3, Tae-Jin, M.14).

I think it's better to value film-making for its own sake [...] You know, **the appreciation or influence of a film escapes directors** [...] Of course, there are some elements of calculation, like consideration about how to interact with audiences. But... [the actual interpretation of a film is up to the viewer] (H-U2-6, Chang-Soo, M.16).

> **As long as the description of the event is true, why do we have to bother about the impact of the films**? Of course, the influence of films can be either good or bad. For directors, there is no choice but to make a film as they want it to be. You know, things have always got two sides, like, positive and negative. **Even if the films can be used as justification of what Israel did to Palestine, there is nothing the directors can do about it** (H-U2-1, Jin-Wook, M.16).

Tae-Jin held the view that the effect of filmic representations on viewers did not necessarily reflect the director's purpose in making the film. By the same token, in Chang-Soo's view, film directors' intentions may not always reach out to their viewers; that is, viewers also play a role of producing a meaning from a filmic text. Again, for Jin-Wook, the particular ways in which filmic representation of the past are used are beyond the control of film directors. From their perspective, it is the very obscurity of translation of past actuality into a particular historical interpretation that makes historical reconstruction arbitrary, chiming with Ankersmit's ideas about representation, 'there are no translation rules which, when carefully applied, can guarantee the objectivity of a narratio' (quoted in Zammito, 2005: 159). In short, responses in this category did not suggest any possible change in the filmic representation in the face of the criticism found in Source H-1, not because the past is fixed but because there is no criterion for a 'better' representation of the past. Arguably, students in this category seemed to subscribe to the idea of a complete mastery of the past. That is, in these students' view, it is not appropriate to criticise a particular filmic representation of the past, as the past is amenable to any kind of objectification.

8.2.2. 'Better documented' representations of the past

Compared to the previous group, to a certain degree, responses in this category suggested a possible change, emphasising the need to 'get the story right', through integrating more facts into the films.

> In my view, **without the release of this kind of film, people wouldn't have known this kind of event in detail**. You know, these days, people don't bother to look for a book in order to know what really happened in the past (H-U1-3, Song-Hee, F.15).

> Because there must be more things to be told, I mean, about the massacre of the Jews. **It's too early to stop digging up more about the event** (H-U2-19, Da-Kyeong, F.16).

For Song-Hee, it is critical to produce a film about 'source' events, given the fact that alternative forms of history like blockbuster films can guarantee a wider circulation of information about the past. In Song-Hee's case, possible suggestions for alterations of filmic representations in question are not explicit. However, it is fair to say that she draws attention to the aspect of historical films as historical accounts to serve as documentation. For her, the criteria for evaluation of the filmic past lie in 'better' documentations of the past, with an emphasis on enhancing factual details. For Da-Kyeong, significant events like the Holocaust need to be 'fully' researched, assuming that there must be more facts to be uncovered.

On the other hand, for some students, what matters is not only the disclosure of newly found facts but also the integration of neglected standpoints, aiming at 'doing justice' to both the position of the victims' and the perpetrators':

> To my mind, they would have **tried to make a film about the Holocaust perceived by Germans' points of view**, like, how it all started and what made it keep going, **adopting a more subtle way of telling** (H-L2-6, Na-Min, M.13).

> I think that **film directors are not quite free from their surroundings, responding to what the public requires of a certain image of the past.** But, still, **they could try to keep their work from bias**, through describing what caused the event and who did it, etcetera. For example, **they could try to be fair to both positions such as the persecutors' and the victims'** (H-U2-17, Eun-Hye, F.16).

Both responses illustrated above stress the need to 'chronicle' the event in a more balanced way ('how it all started and what made it keep going'; 'they could try to keep their work from bias, through describing what caused the event and who did it'). Furthermore, in Na-Min's view, it is important to approach the Holocaust from the perpetrators' standpoint in order to bring out less clichéd narrations of the event. Similarly, for Eun-Hye, it is crucial for film directors to deal with both standpoints, thus leading the films into 'fairer' representations of the event.

Most of all, what concerns students in this group is to provide 'perspective-free' information about the past:

> [I don't agree with Source H-1] Because it [a film] can **inform audiences of what really happened in the past in an accessible way** (H-U2-5, Eu-Chan, M.16).

> According to source one, the Holocaust industry serves the interest of Israel. […] That line of argument also serves a certain interest, like, taking a side on the issue of Palestine. As long as the film is based on the fact, what's the matter? **What these directors tried has nothing to do with taking sides**. They just did their job, **grounding film-making on historical facts** […] Just imagine, **what if film directors revise history in favour of Palestine? What they are going to lose is the reality of their films** (H-U2-18, Min-Seon, F.16).

> Let me comment on source one. Making a film about a horrible event is not just a matter of learning a lesson from the past. I think that **this kind of film itself is**

a kind of record, **like, keeping the record straight, like, stopping any distortion of the fact**. I'm not saying that there is no commercial element at work, in both films. But, it's still worth filming this kind of event (H-U1-8, Bo-Ra, F.15).

As seen above, what is at stake here is the translation of past actuality into either a bite-sized version of the event (in Eu-Chan's case) or an understanding of the past without partisan engagement (in Min-Seon's and Bo-Ra's case). On the other hand, some students voice concerns about strong sense of proximity to the past, which is perceived as a threat to 'objective' distance:

> However strong criticisms are, they would not have changed the film if they shot what they had believed [...] If any [change], it would be minor things, like, **taking a few repulsive scenes out, or qualifying the tone of film, like, making these scenes less disturbing** (H-U1-1, Yong-Hoon, M.16).

> They would shoot a scene exactly as it happened in the past, like, on the basis of historical facts, I mean, **not as commodification of the past but as just a part of history** [...] I mean, **it could be used as a sort of source like a history textbook**, like, something to refer to, nothing more than that. Like, **sustaining objectivity rather than claiming something subjective**... (H-U1-2, Jeong-Tae, M.16).

For Yong-Hoon, minor changes could be made in terms of tone, in an attempt to qualify the excess of emotion of popular representations of the past. From Jeong-Tae's perspective, what is at issue here is appropriating films as a kind of source for past actuality ('it could be used as a sort of source like a history textbook, like, something to refer to'). Interestingly, Jeong-Tae implicitly makes a distinction between pseudo-history ('commodification of the past') and history proper ('just a part of history'), disregarding some elements of the films as mere subjectivism. On the surface, Jeong-Tae's response shows disapproval of a kind of subjectivism whereby historical facts are organised to suit present needs. As illustrated in the

following conversation, on the other hand, his and Yong-Hoon's responses do not seem to endorse mere positivism, which might reduce historical accounts to a passive mirror:

(Extract H-U1-H)

Yong-Hoon (H-U1-1, M.16): I agree with Jeong-Tae. There are not many records about the remote past. That's why it's hard to know what happened a long time ago. Having said that, **if we don't keep an accurate record through making a film, or whatever, people in the future would have some difficulty in figuring out what really happened in the 20th century**.

Int.: You mean, before all eye-witness pass away…

Yong-Hoon: Yeah, before all are gone, **history as a fact needs to be established**.

Jeong-Tae (H-U1-2, M.16): For the benefit of posterity.

Yong-Hoon**: Otherwise, history as commodity, like, all exaggeration and bias, would remain as the only source to refer to in the future**.

Jeong-Tae: Particularly, **once subjective points of view are involved, it's very likely to exaggerate things**, like, describing all Germans as psychos.

Yong-Hoon: If we let that tendency keep going, Germans would be remembered as lunatics by later generations

As seen above, from their perspective, film-making about significant events needs to be carried on in order to establish a 'right' interpretation of the past. By doing so, in their view, films could enable future generations 'to figure out what really happened in the 20th century', preventing 'wrong' representation of the past reaching out from the past ('Germans would be remembered as lunatics by later generations').

8.2.3. Historical reality as practical knowledge

Compared to those in the previous category, students in this category promoted the idea of the purposeful use of history, echoing what Rüsen (2004: 173) calls 'the exemplary type'. According to him, 'history in this conception is viewed as a past recollected with a message or lesson for the present, as didactic.'

It's worth making a film about the event **as a reference for the future, like, in order not to repeat the same thing** (H-L2-3, Tae-Jin, M.14).

I think that the event needs to be remembered in order to inform the next generation, like, not repeating the same mistake again. **What matters is giving them an opportunity to reflect upon the past for their own future** (H-U1-5, Young-Mi, F.15).

In my view, it is important to remember what happened in the past, particularly, human atrocities like the massacre of the Jews or other forms of mass killing. Just think about what's happening in Iraq. **Once we stop carrying on memory about what's done to innocent people, it is like, scrapping opportunities to learn a lesson from the past** (H-U1-6, Jin-Kyeong, F.15).

It is still **important to let people realise how horrible the event was** (H-U2-8, Min-Yong, M.17).

These students suggest that a film about significant events provides a better understanding of the present, thus establishing a framework within which a 'better' future can be created ('What matters is giving them an opportunity to reflect upon the past for their own future'). As Lee (2004: 7) notes, 'they [students] may be quite good at recognizing "practical" pasts, designed to prove this or that point about who we (or others) are, and what we (or they) should do next.' In short, for them, historical knowledge is practical in the sense that, 'every projection of the future is connected to the experience of the past' (Rüsen, 2004: 62). Furthermore, for some students, it is legitimate to seek links between historical knowledge and present interests, resonating with Seixas' (2004: 6) delineation of collective memory, 'the narrative provides a larger justificatory context for collective actions to be taken in response to current challenges.'

Well, I'm not so sure about the political bit. Maybe, he [in Source H-1] is right in that aspect. But, **what's wrong with commercial success if it could be used**

in order to help Holocaust victims financially? [...] there is surely a need to remember (H-U1-4, Hye-Joo, F.15).

I don't think there is something wrong with the marketisation of memory. It is happening in Korea, too, I mean, using a colonial past as a kind of weapon against Japan, from time to time. Well, even if so, Korea is not good at making the most out of it, I think. For example, the issue of Korean comfort women hasn't been sorted out [...] [In the case of Hiroshima] **I don't think there is something wrong with taking advantage of victimhood. If they're victims, why not make the most out of it?** (H-U1-9, Yong-Hee, F.16).

Both students disagree with Source H-1 in that the so-called 'Holocaust industry' could provide an opportunity to come to terms with past injustice. As is the case with students' conceptions about perspective (for detailed discussion, see Chapter 7, particularly, 'inherited' perspective), students often refer to 'the colonial past'. Perhaps, it is reasonable to say that the way students attribute significance to the past is part of a trend, in which, 'historical consciousness [...] is now more likely to be bound up with a search for perpetrators and with the posthumous recognition of victims [...]' (Torpey, 2004: 248-9). For Hye-Joo, it is legitimate to use the past for the purpose of reparation. Similarly, Yong-Hee acknowledged the need to connect to the past, whereby the past experience and memory intersect with present interests. In what follows, Seon-Joo and Seong-Mi consider that the significance of the past and of people's recollections of it lies in the psychological or political needs of a society:

Well, it might not be the case that the directors shot the film in order to make money. **What if Germany denies what they did**? That's a possible reason for making a film about the event. Alternatively, what the directors tried was **a kind of reconciliation with the past, like, relieving Jewish people of a painful memory through cinema**. The first one [Source H-1] has gone too far, criticising a well-intended film just because it made a profit (H-L2-8, Seon-Joo, F.13).

I don't think any change would have been made. **If they shot another film, like, 'What's the matter between Israel and Palestine', then, it is another story**. To be honest with you, **the suffering of the Jews in the past can't be an excuse for Israel to give the Palestinian people a hard time at all**. If they persecute the Palestinian people, what's the difference between the Nazis and themselves? (H-U2-10, Seong-Mi, F.16).

In Seon-Joo's view, the so-called 'traumatic memory' needs to carry the experience into the present and future, reminding us of what LaCapra (2004: 57) assigns to the role of a series of extreme events in history:

> In perhaps its most politically pointed dimension, the founding trauma may be a way for an oppressed group or an abused person to reclaim a history and to transform it into a more or less enabling basis of life in the present.

In contrast, in Seong-Mi's view, the idea of using the past for present interests is dismissed. What underpins her idea is a recognition that there is always the possibility for the abuse of history such as sacralisation of the victim and use of traumatic memory as makers of group identity.

Interestingly, Seon-Joo proceeds to refer to Source H-2, which attempted to set the Holocaust against comparable limiting events in history:

> Seon-Joo (H-L2-8, F.13): I'm not completely with the defence lawyer. Of course, he made a point in saying that there was another genocide between different races. But, most of all, any kind of genocide is insane, psychopathic. If they hated each other that much, why didn't they live separately in the first place? I don't understand at all. **Filming what Nazi Germany did is necessary because German people need self-reflection. Somehow, these kinds of films could give an opportunity for Jewish people to blame Germany for their painful past**.

On the one hand, Seon-Joo agrees with Source H-2 in that the Holocaust was not a 'unique' event given the fact that there have been lots of extreme acts in the past. On the other hand, the Holocaust is seen as needing to be represented, thus righting past wrongs.

8.2.4. Historicising history

As noted earlier, for students in the previous group, representing the Holocaust is critical on the basis of its role of providing timeless value, thus bringing the past alive for the purpose of present interests. In contrast, students in this group attempt to place the event within the context of particular historical conditions and consequences.

> As far as I understand, **this lawyer's concern is less to do with mass-murder by the Nazis than to do with other events comparable to the Holocaust**. For him, the Nazis felt it easy to do that partly because other white people were also doing harm to other people in Asia and Africa. […] For the defence lawyer, the trial seemed to put an accent on how cruel the Nazis were, **glossing over many other incidents, which happened during colonisation fuelled by Western imperialism**. I mean, he was defending his client, **emphasising that what the Nazis did was just a part of the product of the period, or, say, movement in the Western world** (H-U2-1, Jin-Wook, M.16).

> I think, the lawyer was **taking a risk in that he was diverting focus from a single event to the whole history,** like, making a 180 degree turn. […] I think **this lawyer is trying to make the most out of a kind of universal value, or rather, guilty feeling**. I mean, **he is backing up his defence on the basis of a variety of sufferings caused by human prejudice, which is also the case with the Holocaust** (H-U2-2, Yong-Woo, M.17).

Both of these students in qualified ways agree with some aspects of Source H-2 in that the Holocaust was not so much an isolated event in a vacuum as an extreme case of 20th century history. Of course, compared to Jin-Wook, Yong-Woo found the defence more forced in that the plea was based on an assumption of presumed universality. However, both students

attempt to provide rational explanations of events, through mentioning reasons that caused historical agents to act at a particular time and place. As a result, compared to students in the previous category, events are conceived, to use Seixas' (2004: 7) distinction of two modes of historical consciousness, as 'unique events unfolding within an irreversible linear time' ["historical time"] rather than 'instances in a series of cyclically repeating occurrences ["liturgical time"].' In a similar fashion, Song-Joo draws attention into the historicity of events:

> Well, in a way, the **massacre of Jewish people has something to do with the race issue** [...] You know, Nazi propaganda appealed to ordinary German citizens. They were part of Nazi movement, agreeing with the idea of racial superiority of German nation. **That's something to do with their self-interest,** like, trying to avoid economic disadvantage through getting rid of Jewish people (Song-Joo, H-U2-4).

As seen above, for him, an understanding of extreme events lies in analysing the cause of the event rather than revealing a past as a psychological entity.

> Looking back, apart from the Nazis, lots of horrible things happened in the past, like, slavery, colonialism, etcetera. **Compared to what the Nazis did, other evil things drew less attention.** To my mind, **that's the way history is written**. I mean, **not every theme or topic in history has been handled on equal terms. In particular, the images shaped by Western views tend to dominate historical writings**. Of course, I'm not saying that informing what happened to Jewish people is not important (H-U2-4, Song-Joo, M.16).

In fact, Song-Joo acknowledges the significance of 'source' events on the basis of the ethical and historical stakes they bring into play. However, what concerns him most is the way the epoch-making events are represented in historical study. In his view, it should be observed that one study of a particular theme has been downplayed while the other has been highlighted. In other words, for him, historical research is perspectival in terms of its relativity to value schemes in a given society, particularly when it contacts with sensitive

issues. As LaCapra (2004: 67) puts it, 'historiography most directly impinges on the public sphere and is not purely professional or technical in nature when it touches on problems of memory, including of course problems of forgetting, repression, and avoidance.'

In conclusion, as noted earlier, responses in the Holocaust task appear to converge on the idea of the limits of the relativity of historical representation, reiterating the importance of the provision of filmic representations of the Holocaust. Furthermore, students tended to pay attention to the role of historical enquiry in the public sphere in the light of contributing 'accurate' memory, touching upon the issue of the remembered past and self-understanding. Overall, responses in the Holocaust task show stronger disapproval of the written sources[42] provided in this study than those in the Russian Revolution task. In addition to this, in the case of responses in the Russian Revolution task, the more they agreed with Source R-1 (disapproval of the legacy of the Russian Revolution), the more they were likely to subscribe to the idea of changing the representation of the Russian Revolution. For instance, responses in category 3 (dogmatic revisions of history) and 4 (legitimate revisions of history) approved Source R-1 more than those in category 1 (no alteration) and 2 ('better documented' history). In contrast, in the case of the Holocaust task, the extent of agreement with Source H-1 (a criticism levelled against the Holocaust industry) was polarized even within the same category.

Summary

In this chapter, students' ideas about revision of history were mapped by analysing their approaches to possible changing filmic representations of the past. In the case of the Russian Revolution task, students' assumptions about what constitutes historical knowledge tended to shape their views on the issue of the modification of historical representations across time. In the case of the Holocaust task, students' stances towards historical revisionism reflected their appraisal of the role of the cinematic past in the public sphere. Despite the differences between the two tasks, students in both cases tended to assume that more committed

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[42] For detailed discussion of students' commentaries on written sources, see Chapter 9

perspectives were likely to make historical representations subject to a greater degree of revision. In addition to this, it is safe to say that students who recognised that it is interpretation (not the past itself) that changes tended to acknowledge that the historical significance of an event cannot be reduced to an understanding of what historical agents intended. Some students who view historical accounts as an answer to a particular question seemed to be able to make a break-through, attributing a positive role to perspectival views of the past. Students who were equipped with powerful ideas about the historicity of historical representations tended to come to terms with the task of revisions of filmic history better than those who were not. An analysis of the link between students' ideas about revisions of historical representations and their views on the role of perspective is provided in Chapter 10.

Chapter 9. Students' ideas about the use and abuse of history

As noted in the previous chapter, the way students responded to written sources contrasted across the tasks: students' responses in the Russian Revolution set tended to affirm the idea of changing representations of the event more than those in the Holocaust set did. Given the nature of the events in question, it is not surprising that students in the former task viewed the Revolution as an 'unfulfilled' past, often suggesting an alternative path in history. In this chapter, the way students approach objectification[43] of the past will be discussed via an analysis of their comments on the written sources.

9.1. The Russian Revolution task

Source R-1
[the Revolution was] an attempt to improve life, which initially had worthwhile goals - freedom, equality, fraternity, but the result is a result that we have [...] October was a struggle for equal rights, which then turned into a new form of inequality.
– An excerpt from interview with a 55-year-old woman working in finance in Moscow during 1992 and 1993, J. Wertsch and M. Rozin (1998) 'The Russian Revolution: Official and Unofficial Accounts' in J. Voss and M. Carretero, (eds.), *Learning and Reasoning in History: International Review of History Education Vol.2*, London: Woburn Press.

Source R-2
What failed in the USSR was not Communism at all - and if it failed (which it obviously did) it was not because it betrayed the people. Communism, with its aspiration to truer democracy, is as susceptible to perversion as other visions. But it will remain with us because it also embodies some of our highest ideals.
– C. Jacobson (1998) 'So What Did Collapse in 1991?', in M. Cox (ed.), *Rethinking the Soviet Collapse: Sovietology, the Death of Communism and the New Russia*, London and New York: Pinter.

[43] The term here denotes an attempt to reify the past into an object of the present. The usage of the term in this chapter is rather specific in that it refers to a kind of appropriation of the past either in the form of revisions of history (in the case of the Russian Revolution task) or juridification of history (in the case of the Holocaust task).

Students in the Russian Revolution task were asked to compare Source R-1 and Source R-2 when they discussed the issue of revision of filmic representations. The factors which students considered for the comparison task ('Is there any difference between two sources?; 'Which source is better to make sense of the Russian Revolution?') are categorised as below.

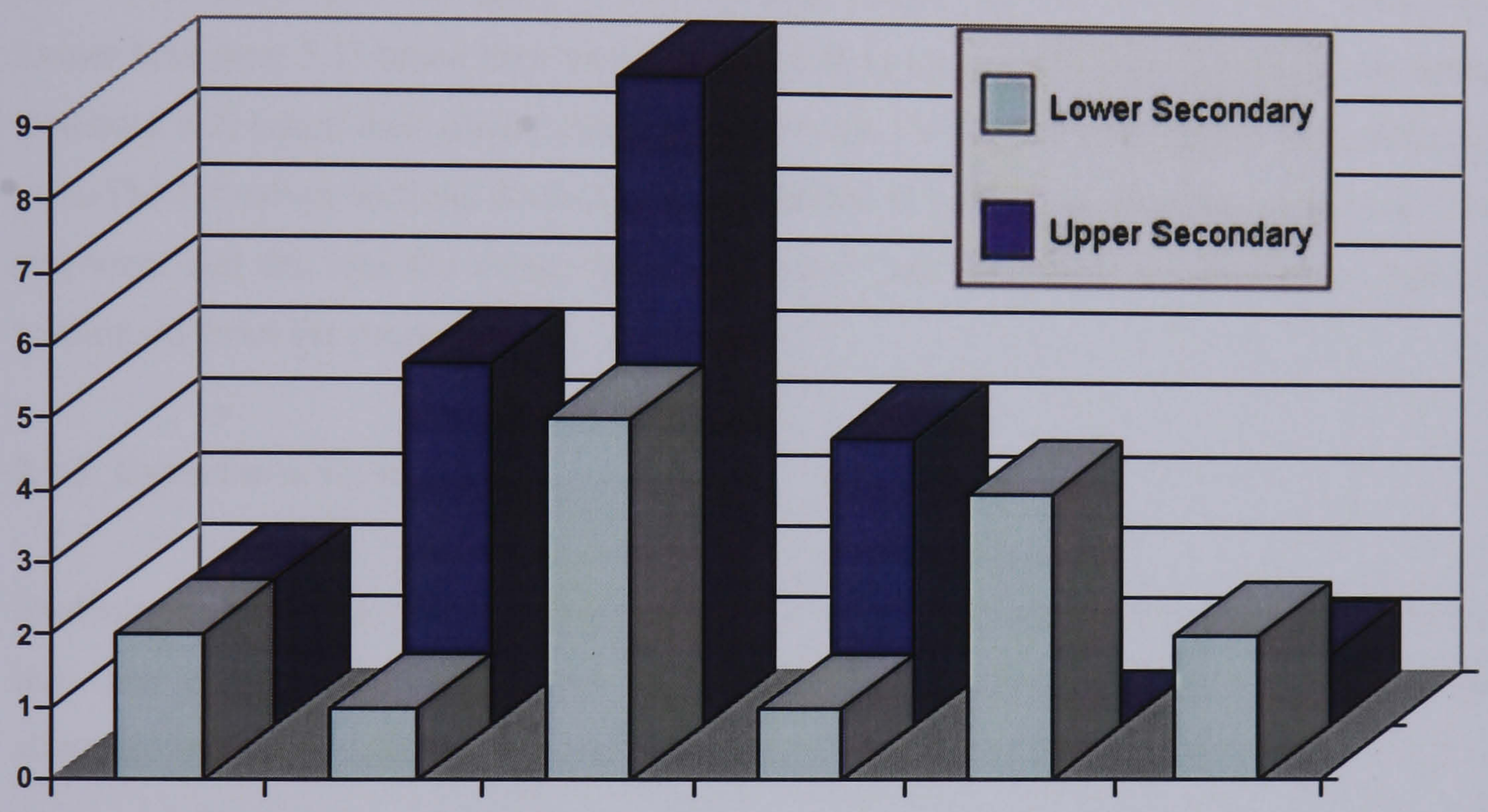

Figure 9.1. Students' approaches to the unfulfilled past (the Russian Revolution task) (Numbers represent students with responses falling into each category)[44]

As indicated above, some students were not able to tell the difference between the two sources. For instance, for these students, Source R-1 and R-2 are about the same thing (in the case of category 1). Probed further, some students acknowledged that there were some differences, without articulating the factors that distinguish one from the other (in the case of category 2). The majority of students attempted to compare the two sources in terms of the origins of the source, such as a real-life interview (Source R-1) versus scholarly work (Source R-2). While some responses valued an interview with a citizen, based on the

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[44] There were two students (Ho-Won R-L2-4 and Yong-Beom R-L3-6) whose responses fell into two different categories.

opposition of 'genuine' experience versus 'empty' theory (in the case of category 3), other responses gave credit to the historian's work, basing their view either on the practical consequences of [un]intended action or on the opposition of theoretical construction versus mere anecdotal approach (in the case of category 4). The last two sub-categories were drawn from some responses that framed the comparison task in the light of the contrast of singular past versus plural past (category 5: the real past versus the hypothetical past). While the former (category 5.1) based their choice (Source R-1) on the path known to them, the latter (category 5.2) based their choice (Source R-2) on the plurality of possibilities for a different path. The following sections discuss these categories except for the first two categories. The responses that fall into the categories of 'the same' and 'just different' did not go beyond reading off from the sources.

9.1.1. Experience versus theory

Students who opted for Source R-1 (the testimony of a Russian citizen) appeared to bring into their assessment of the factors for a better understanding of the past an assumption about the role that proximity or distance to 'reality' would play in everyday settings.

> **The historian must be better-off than the citizen**. That's why he is still talking about Communism that way (R-L2-6, Seung-Ji, F.13).

> What they said are different [...] The person in source one seems to have a negative opinion about the Russian Revolution [...] In contrast, in source two, the historian is quite positive about the USSR and Communism, **blaming ordinary people like Russian citizens for the failure of the Soviet Union** (R-L2-4, Ho-Won, F.13).

> Most of all, she [a citizen] is a Russian. On top of that, she is the one who was close to the reality [...] He [**a historian] seemed to see things from a distance while the citizen seemed to tell what she really felt** (R-U1-4, Ji-Seon, F.16).

> I'm not so sure about the historian. But, you can't just say the ordinary people

> stay closer to reality of the society. Furthermore, **this citizen is not old enough to experience the Revolution** (R-U1-1, Woo-Jin, M.15).

For them, what the citizen said is more convincing since she is an 'ordinary' person, who is closer to reality while the historian is too 'distant' to eye-witness an everyday humdrum life or a struggle for survival. Of course, in the case of Woo-Jin, Source R-1 is not regarded as a faithful representation of the past just because the narrator happens to be more ordinary. Closely related to this idea is the tendency to juxtapose 'first-hand' experience with 'second-hand' knowledge. Older students were more articulate about this binary opposition:

> […] she [the Russian citizen] sounds more convincing […] To me, **what the historian said was too theoretical** (R-U2-8, Jin-Cheol, M.17).

> To me, source one sounds as if it makes more sense […] Because **what historians write tends to come from what they conceive through sources only**. You know, citizens are the kind of people who live through things, as a part of the society (R-U2-14, Min-Kyu, M.16).

> I'm also with the citizen. She used to be a civil servant in the financial department, at the same time, 'a citizen'. Of course, it can't be said that a citizen represents something average, or universal. But, **citizens can sense what's going on, muddling through everyday life**. In the end, they came to the conclusion that this is not a state they'd expected (R-U2-3, Joon-Soo, M.15).

> I also think that what the citizen said is more convincing […] You know, when you call someone a citizen, it means that he or she is an ordinary person, living a real life at the very bottom of the society […] I mean, they live a life, of which the policy-makers at high-rank of the society have no idea. **They are the very people, who have got to carry on their life regardless of the success or failure of the policy made by politicians** (R-U2-4, In-Beom, M.16).

On the one hand, Jin-Cheol and Min-Kyu disregard Source R-2 as mere theory or

speculation, which is limited – if not entirely flawed. On the other hand, Joon-Soo and In-Beom considered Source R-1 as a faithful representation of society since it was drawn from 'genuine' life experiences. Moreover, some students level strong criticism against Source R-2, regarding it as 'party history'.

> What I'm trying to say is that citizens are the people, who've got to get on with whatever policy was. In the case of this historian, **all he cares about seems to be an ideology** – in his case, Communism –, rather than real life. For that reason, he doesn't seem to analyse what went wrong in Communist politics in depth, blaming the failure on others (R-U2-4, In-Beom, M.16).

> Unlike citizens, historians are closer to the ruling class in the society. For that reason […] Well…Anyway, this woman seems to know more about the society than he does […] To me, **this historian seems to be a single minded person**, pursuing only his ideal […] **Ideal is just an ideal, which he mistook for reality** (R-U2-5, Min-Jae, M.17).

> 'Cos what the Russian historian said sounds like a sort of side-stepping. I mean, he seemed to make an excuse for the collapse of the regime, blaming other countries for betraying the ideals of Communism […] I mean, **the historian is just imagining how nice it would be for Russia to remain as the USSR**. (R-L3-4 , Sang-Woo, M.15).

> To me, the Russian woman sounds more convincing […] Living through what had happened in the society, she was in a position to tell what she really felt […] In the first place, **the historian has put forward his view on the basis of the assumption that Communism is the highest ideal**. (R-U2-6, Jeong-Min, M.16).

In the view of these students, Source R-2 is not only limited but also skewed since it was based on 'ideology', which, for them, is a distorting mirror, which gives a quite unfaithful representation of real life. For In-Beom and Min-Jae, Source R-2 failed to do justice to real

issues since the historian's analysis was based on positionality – in his case, ideology. In a similar fashion, Sang-Woo and Jeong-Min disregard Source R-2 as wishful thinking (in the case of Sang-Woo) or tacit assumptions (in the case of Jeong-Min). What differentiates them from younger students is their awareness of the role of the interpretive process in Source R-2; for instance, Source R-2 is discredited not only because the narrator is not an ordinary person but because the enquirer relies on a predetermined framework.

> To be honest with you, if you look at what's happening in Russia at the moment, things are not going well […] Of course, he [the historian] knows. But […] It seems to me that **he doesn't really care about his contemporaries**. I mean, **he seems to look at the Revolution from the period, like, from the past point of view** (R-L3-2, Joon-Ki, M.15).

> [The citizen] could be a better source than a historian could […] Because, naturally, she has lived through all the things of the society […] **Historians tend to be detached themselves from what's going on when they decide to make a claim** rather than to plunge into emotional statement about it (R-L3-1, Seung-Cheol, M.15).

Some younger students also pointed out that the enquirer's positionality in Source R-2 was closely connected with interpretation of the legacy of the Revolution. Curiously, compared to their older peers, the positionality of Source R-2 was not viewed as an 'original sin'. Rather, it was seen as an attempt to avoid presentism (in Joon-Ki's case) or to take a detached stance (in Seung-Cheol's case) that gave rise to constructing a certain type of historical understanding.

9.1.2. Ideal versus reality

Interestingly, responses that opted for Source R-2 also draw on an 'experience (reality) versus theory (ideal)' category. In other words, credit was given to the historian's account on the ground that it is based on a theoretical construction rather than an impressionistic sketch of reality.

> In my view, what the historian said sounds more convincing [...] Because, hum, what he said is true. I mean, Communism is a one of the best ideals, almost as good as democracy, like, it contains what the ideal world is about [...] The thing is, the way the idea was delivered, like, the direction of policy was a fraud. That's what he thinks [...] That's right. **What went wrong is the application of the Communist policy. That's why the ideal wasn't realised in real life** (R-L3-3, Ki-Beom, M.15).
>
> Let me ask one thing. Is this historian a contemporary? [...] I think that even historians can't keep distance from social reality. Well, to me, source two sounds more compelling. As he said, **although a new form of equality was created, the ideal itself still remains as significant as ever** (R-U1-2, Eun-Seo, F.15).

The difference lies in the way they approach the topic: for them, what Source R-1 argued was self-evident (particularly, in the case of Ki-Beom) since Communism is regarded as 'an undelivered' ideal. Interestingly, Eun-Seo did not subscribe to the idea that the 'detached' stance of a historian gave rise to 'positive' appraisal of the Revolution, blinding him to the problems of present society. Rather, it is theoretical considerations that assist comprehension of judgement.

On the other hand, some responses attribute the 'failure' to the practical consequences of [un]intended action.

> [As] the historian argues, even though the present of Communism looks like a failure, the ideal remains the same. **The problem is that people are just claiming their lot, while failing to be faithful to the idea of Communism** (R-U2-23, Byeol-A, F.16).
>
> To me, the historian sounds better [...] In my view, Communism has declined because there was **something wrong with the 'ruling class'** in Russia, like, **they didn't pursue the ideal of equality** (R-U2-7, Jeong-Jae, M.16).

This Russian citizen is too naïve since she thinks that the Revolution would change everything. In contrast, the historian doesn't think Communism has failed. […] I mean, **there isn't any failure. What matters is that they didn't deliver the ideal**. What they think ideal is also different. Of course, there were lots of confusions about which way to follow. **Because Communism in Russia was not on the right track, it couldn't last** (R-U2-1, Ho-Min, M.16).

For Byeol-A, it was self-interest that failed the ideal of Communism. In a similar vein, Jeong-Jae highlighted the Soviet leadership's refusal to utilise the idea of Communism. Interestingly, in addition to pointing out the lack of an attempt to realise the ideal, Ho-Min appeared to refer to a kind of deviation from a normal path, which a fully developed Communist country is expected to follow. It is not clear that he attributed the failure of the USSR to its 'incomplete transitions'. This idea is explicit among responses in the following category that often suggested the plurality of possibilities for a different path.

9.1.3. The real past versus the hypothetical past

For students in this category, the factors for better understandings of the past lie either in the taken or the alternative path in history. While some students based their choice on the course of history as known to us, other students based their judgement on the counter-factual analysis of the event in question.

a. Taken path

To me, source one is the case […] You know, we [South Koreans] all live in a democratic [she appeared to have meant Capitalist] society. As far as I know, a **Communist society like Russia is far more different from South Korea**. That's why what the Russian citizen said makes more sense to me (R-L2-4, Ho-Won, F.13).

Well, **there hasn't been any case in history so far**. I mean, ideal Communist

> society, just like he [the historian in source 2] said, never existed (R-L2-5, Lee-Soo, F.14).

Not surprisingly, in the case of responses which opted for Source R-1, more attention was paid to current affairs, referring to either everyday life (in the case of Ho-Won) or contemporary history (in the case of Lee-Soo). However, students who valued Source R-2 also turned to very recent history.

> To me, the historian's account sounds more convincing [...] At the beginning, there are many countries, which tried to implement the ideal of Communism, like, China, North Korea, etcetera... But, they all failed to keep at that, you see. Amongst them, **the USSR is a country, which succeeded in pursuing Communist ideas** (R-L3-5, Hwan-Soo, M.14).

> To me, the historian's account makes more sense [...] You know, industrial Capitalism had been a kind of laissez-faire. But, after the Great Depression, Roosevelt, an American president introduced the idea of the welfare state. Since then, Capitalism has been developed, adopting some elements of Communism [...] I mean, **even within a Capitalist regime, you can pick up a certain element of Communism**, for example, social welfare system [...] What I'm trying to say is that it's a sort of mixture of Capitalism and Communism (R-L3-6, Yong-Beom, M.14).

In these responses, as far as an ideal is concerned, the Revolution has carried on its significance in different forms. Unlike other Communist countries, in Hwan-Soo's view, the USSR achieved a certain level of substantial sociological change. For Yong-Beom, it is the Communist idea that had led into socioeconomic reform in Capitalist society.

b. Alternative paths

For students in this category, the Russian Revolution was a kind of missed opportunity mainly due to 'incomplete transition' to Capitalism and modernity.

> I support what the historian said [...] To a certain extent, I'm with the Communist ideal. [...] Simply put, if every member of society can make an honest living, like, getting paid what they deserve, like in a democratic society, it couldn't be better. **If people in a Communist country followed the basic rule of the society as people do in a democratic** [he appeared to have meant Capitalist, as the opposition between Communism and democracy is often employed in social studies textbooks] **society, there could have been more chance for Communism to outgrow democracy** [again, Capitalism] [...] Yeah. If Communist countries take the idea more seriously, [it couldn't be better]. [...] In a democratic [Capitalist] society, the poor and the rich coexist. In contrast, in an 'ideal' Communist society, there would be no one who lives on the breadline, like, starving or frozen to death. **If the ideal of Communism comes true, everybody can be equal, living their own life to the full** [...] there would be no homeless people as we have in South Korea [...] Yeah. There is a bigger gap between the poor and the rich in democratic [Capitalist] society than in Communist society (R-L2-3, Jeong-Ho, M.14).

Jeong-Ho compared two systems, emphasising social injustice in present Capitalist society and an unfulfilled desirable future in the Communist society. Given a strong emphasis on the superiority of the South Korean regime over its counterpart in the North common in social studies textbooks, it is surprising that these students seek other ways of framing the issue. Possibly, it has something to do with individual learners' ways of appropriation of the subject. As Levstik (2001: 71) aptly points out, 'other settings, other purposes, access to other cultural tools, or the character of the individual student may supersede the classroom context.' Compared to Jeong-Ho, Yong-Beom and Hye-Da were more articulate about their arguments:

> I think Communist ideals are too high to accomplish. I mean, Communism is too idealistic as a system. The reason why Russia failed is that, simply put, it was a fragile Capitalist country. **If its Capitalism had been mature enough**... I mean, Russia was a poor country, which was still ruled by an emperor. You

know, **Russia should have got through a Capitalist regime first, and, then, moved toward a Communist regime.** But, Russia plunged into a Communist regime, without realising that it didn't have enough capital [...] I mean, even if Communists tried to distribute something equally, there were not many things to be given away to everyone [...] I think their ideal itself was right (R-L3-6, Yong-Beom, M.14).

As far as I know, Communism came into being when there was a big concern about equality of human kind. I mean, it attempted to make their ideal of equal society come true. In that sense, Communism has got something in common with the idea of welfare state in democratic [Capitalist] society. If you look at Russia at that time, it's not a fully developed country, like, Capitalism was not mature enough. I mean, it was a transitional period, which was on the brink of moving towards a more equal society. There could have been a chance for Communism to become a fully-fledged democratic society, if the Revolution had broken out after every member of society had got a fair share like a welfare state. Maybe, as he [the historian] argues, the ideal of Communism itself was so high. Well, I think the real problem lies in the abuse of power, like, the monopolisation of power structure in the post-Revolution era, like, Stalin's regime. That's why the Revolution turned sour. **If the ideal of Communism hadn't been perverted, if the Revolution had broken out at the highest stage of Capitalism, and, if the Revolution had spread across the world, the USSR could have stood a chance of delivering what the Revolution had promised.** However hard it is to achieve the ideal of Communism, if there had been someone who had tried hard to realise the 'real' ideal, who knows? (R-U2-22, Hye-Da, F.17).

These students' ideas of the 'hypothetical' past are invested with an anachronistic attitude towards the past: or better still, in Chakrabarty's (2000: 247) phrase, 'this relationship to the past incorporates the revolutionary-modernist position in which the reformer seeks to bring (a particular) history to nullity in order to build up society from scratch.' However, it is not fair to say that students in this category viewed the past as amenable to objectification in an

arbitrary way. What is significant is that some students acknowledged the role of retrospective interpretation in shaping historical accounts, attributing the relativity of each interpretation to a necessary aspect of historical knowledge.

9.2. The Holocaust task

Unlike the Russian Revolution set, the written sources in the Holocaust set do not conflict with each other. While Source H-1 mainly provoked discussion of the commercialisation of the past (for students' response to Source H-1, see Chapter 8.2), Source H-2 raised the issue of juridification of the past amongst students (Some responses to Source H-2 were also discussed in Chapter 8.2). In the following sections, students' responses to the question of to what extent they would agree with Source H-2 are illustrated (for an overview of their comments, see Figure 9.2.)

Source H-1

Both my father and mother were survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto and the Nazi concentration camps. [...] I do not remember the Nazi Holocaust ever intruding on my childhood. [...] I sometimes think that American Jewry "discovering" the Nazi Holocaust was worse than its having forgotten. True, my parents brooded in private; the suffering they endured was not publicly validated. But wasn't it better than the current crass exploitation of Jewish martyrdom? [...] it has been used to justify criminal policies of the Israeli state and US support for these policies.[...] In the face of the sufferings of African-Americans, Vietnamese and Palestinians, my mother's credo was: "We are all holocaust victims". [...] And isn't the normal history of humankind replete with horrifying chapters of inhumanity?
– Norman Finkelstein, 'The Business of Death', in *Guardian*, 12th. July. 2000

Source H-2

If you refuse to share the earth with other races […] Whites, you have pity for the fate of whites. Europeans, you inflate a family quarrel into a world war and crime without limitation. […] you elevate the Jews – that is, your own – to the dignity of a condemned race or of chosen martyrs, in order to make people forget, by your one-time ordeal, the cruelties that you have never ceased to inflict upon the races of the south […] echoed and amplified by the huge force of the media at your disposal […] in spite of all your efforts, the manipulation has failed […] it is humanity itself that bursts out laughing, and which says that *your* disaster is not *its* business (Finkielkraut's italics).
– Vergès's defence for Klaus Barbie, quoted in A. Finkielkraut (2000) 'Remembering in Vain: The Klaus Barbie Trial and Crimes against Humanity', in O. Bartov (ed.), *The Holocaust: Origins, Implementation, Aftermath*, London and New York: Routledge, pp.273-301.

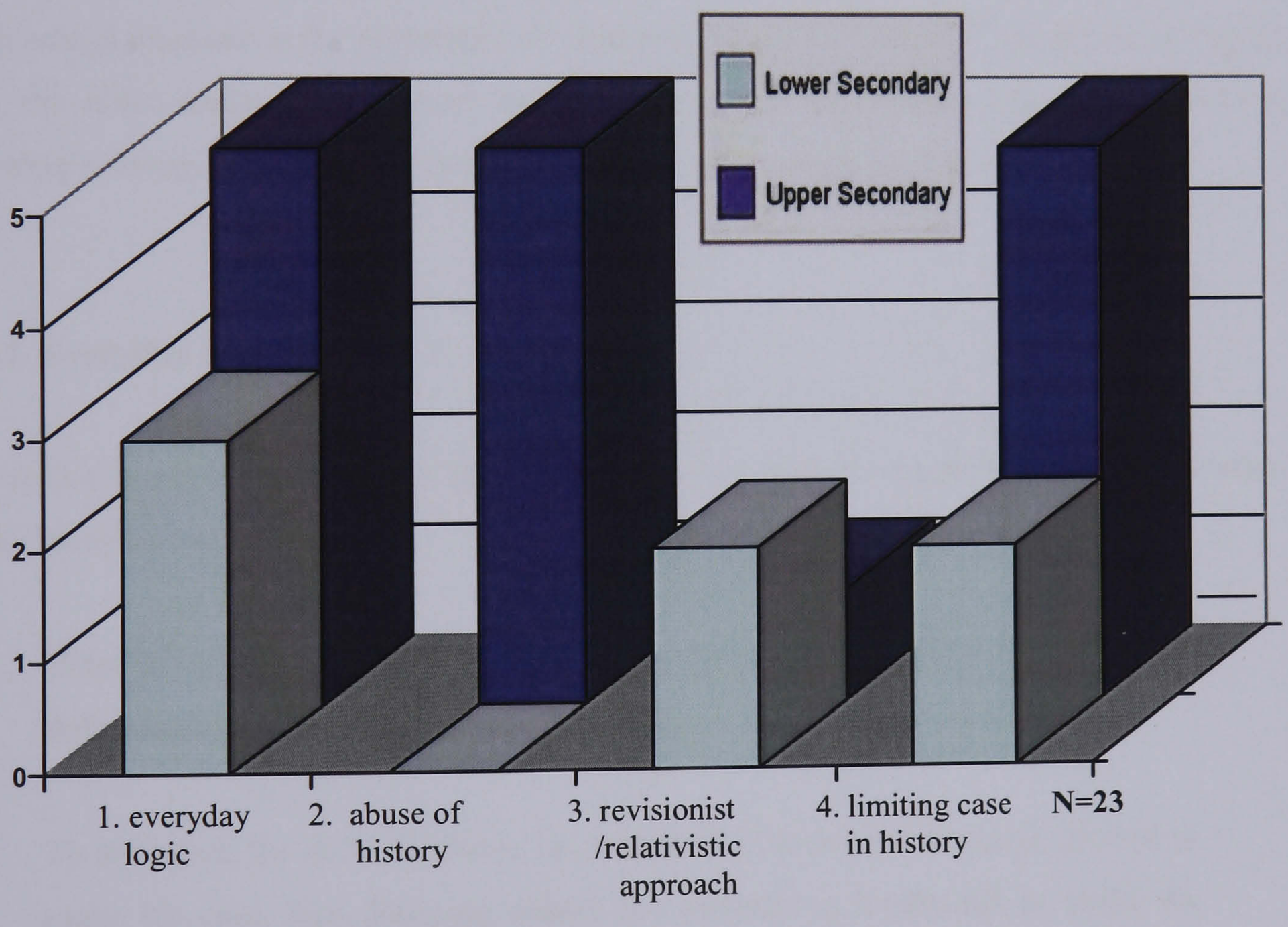

Figure 9.2. Students' approaches to the judicial past (the Holocaust task)
(Numbers represent students with responses falling into each category)

As indicated above, the ways in which students interpret Source H-2 show their stance towards instrumental approaches to the past. Some responses evaluated the source on the basis of its utility for establishing a judicial past or a morality tale (in the case of category 1:

everyday logic). The strongest disapproval of the source came from a stance against a decisionist approach to the past in which the past is called upon for the sake of present interest (in the case of category 2: abuse of history). Responses in the last two categories acknowledged, to a certain extent, some issues raised in Source H-2, with close attention paid to an instrumental view of historical study. In particular, responses that strongly endorsed the idea of the 'comparability of the Holocaust' were categorised as indicating 3: revisionist/relativistic approach. In contrast, responses that were aware of the appeal of an instrumental approach to the past, yet critical of the political use of history, were categorised as 4: a limiting case in history. Overall, fewer younger students interpreted the written sources. Only six students out of nineteen middle school students in the Holocaust set responded to the question (in the case of upper-secondary level, fourteen out of thirty-three high school students in the Holocaust set assessed the given sources).[45] As shown in Figure 9.2, the older students were more likely to reject an instrumental approach to history, showing a strong disapproval of Source H-2 (especially categories 2 and 4).

9.2.1. Everyday logic

Given the origin of the source, it is not surprising that students assessed the source in terms of its utility in the court.

> What the lawyer said doesn't make sense. To me, **it is crystal clear that the defendant is guilty** (H-L2-9, Sin-Il, M.14).

> To my mind, the defence lawyer [in Source H-2] didn't have enough ground to make his case, like, **blaming others for something irrelevant to make an excuse for the crime** (H-L3-2, Young-A, F.14).

> I think **it's very simple logic based on 'an eye for an eye'**. Then, what's the

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[45] There were three students (Tae-Jin H-L2-3, Yong-Hoon H-U1-1 and Jin-Kyeong H-U1-6) whose responses fell into two different categories.

point in bringing the case into court. We are not living in a jungle (H-U1-2, Jeong-Tae, M.16).

I don't think he employed the right strategy. What the Nazis did was wrong, anyway. I mean, **the defendant can't justify what he did, just saying that what others did was also wrong**. So what? Either of them did something wrong. That's all (H-U2-11, Yoo-Jin, F.16).

It's like, how dare you judge someone when you're not in a position to do that […] Of course, what white people have done to people in Asia and Africa is wrong. But, **respect for human life is a kind of gospel rule, which has to be abided by anyone**, like, within the same race, like, white people as well (H-U2-19, Da-Kyeong, F.16).

Students drew attention to a possible verdict, taking a judge's position. The responses ranged from a simple dismissal of the defence (in Sin-Il's case) through a criticism of its inner logic (in Young-A's, Jeong-Tae's and Yoo-Jin's case) to an appeal to universal values (in Da-Kyeong's case). This stance can be attributed to the fact that the task was perceived as a decision making exercise, which features often in social studies textbook and curriculum guides. Moreover, as Levstik (2001: 89) has found, as a result of lack of '*historical* schema' (Levstik's italics), adolescents seem to employ 'social relation schema – fairness, morality, getting along together […].'

On the other hand, students brought a moral weight to the discussion when they attempted to understand the motivation and behaviour of a defendant.

You know, there weren't many choices left to him [the defendant]. Once a leader like Hitler is determined to lead his country in a certain direction, it's hard not to follow the line, even if they don't agree with what the leader thinks. They might be put in jail or even get killed just because they've got different ideas. Having said that, **it's hard to blame him for standing by the party line** (H-L2-3, Tae-Jin, M.14).

I think he didn't have a choice at that time. I mean, **he might feel too helpless to go against the tide** at that time (H-U1-6, Jin-Kyeong, F.15).

Well, I think he knew what he was doing. I mean, he knew that it was wrong. But, **the thing is, he didn't battle with his conscience over the issue**, simply opting for his self-interest (H-U1-7, Yoon-Ji, F.15).

As seen above, students' responses involved not only an empathetic stance to the perpetrator but also critical analysis of the event in question. As far as the former is concerned, as LaCapra (2004: 65) suggests, such a recognition entailed 'the acknowledgement that one might oneself perform comparable extreme acts in certain circumstances – or at least that one cannot be certain about how one would act, especially if one has not been tested by those circumstances and their experimental dimensions.'

9.2.2. Abuse of history

Not surprisingly, the strongest criticism was levelled amongst students, who viewed Source H-2 as a kind of 'abuse' of history, simply looking to the past as a warehouse of resources on which to draw as needed.

To me, the second one seems to be **skewed, showing a sort of racial prejudice**. What it was trying to do is, **turning the whole case into a matter of racial issue, which I found inappropriate** (H-U1-6, Jin-Kyeong, F.15).

[…] I think the very fact that the writer of the first source has got parents who were victims of the Holocaust made it more convincing. In contrast, the second one seems to represent what Black people wanted to speak up. I mean, **his logic was formed by experience of racial discrimination, which has less to do with the court case** (H-U2-12, Ji-Woo, F.16).

It doesn't make sense at all. (reading Source H-2) 'Humanity itself that burst

out laughing, and which says that *your* disaster is not *its* business.' Was he sane in the court? […] This is a **completely wrong strategy**. Most of all, he should have shown more sympathy towards the Jewish community. Second of all, he should have admitted the fact that Israeli people were victims persecuted by Germans. If he had done these, his defence would have sounded more appealing, enabling him to stand a chance […] I mean, **if he had appealed to universal humanity rather than spinning the matter, turning it into racial issue…** (H-U1-9, Yong-Hee, F.16).

To me, his logic doesn't make sense at all. You know, the colonialists were all gone. Therefore, you can't put them in prison. Look! He is saying that we can't judge the Nazi because the colonialists didn't pay for what they did. But, how on earth can we punish the dead? […] Moreover, not all white people got involved in colonisation. **It doesn't make sense that white people can't make a judgement about the Holocaust just because some of them committed slavery in the last century** (H-U2-10, Seong-Mi, F.16).

Overall, students disapproved an attempt to draw parallels between the persecution of European Jewry by Nazi Germany and the suffering of the Third World countries caused by Western colonialism. For Jin-Kyeong and Ji-Woo, Source H-2 was not only inappropriate for making a case in the court but also intrinsically flawed with personal prejudice. In particular, Ji-Woo gave credit to Source H-1 since, unlike Source H-2, it did not succumb to self-victimisation despite the narrator's Jewish origin, sustaining a critical distance from the so-called 'Holocaust industry'. In contrast, Yong-Hee and Seong-Mi regarded Source H-2 as strategically deficient. In Yong-Hee's view, Source H-2 missed an opportunity to appeal to a judge since it failed to acknowledge the fact that the Holocaust represents one of 'founding traumas' (LaCapra, 2004: 57). In LaCapra's (2004: 57) phrase, '[S]lavery and the Holocaust have become markers of group identity and, in contested ways, founding traumas for groups living with their fraught heritage.' For Seong-Mi, it was abuse of a colonial past that made Source H-2 fall a prey to an ungrounded defence.

9.2.3. Revisionist/relativistic approach

Interestingly, to a certain extent, some students agreed with Source H-2 on the basis of its instrumental approach to history.

> I think **source two made a point, particularly, the part where he mentioned colonialism**. Well, being an [East] Asian, I'm drawn to his argument. Perhaps, there is nothing strange with that? (H-L2-5, Dong-Han, M.13).

> In a way, it makes sense, if you consider what Americans have been doing. Looking back, once America was a state, in which slave labour was legal. **What's the difference between mass killing and running a slave nation? Slavery is also a different form of murder**, I mean, destruction of human rights. **Who could say that forcing people into slave labor for lifetime is more merciful than imminent killing?** […]You know, **victors always justify what they did,** like Japan (H-U1-1, Yong-Hoon, M.16).

Curiously, Dong-Han did not question the purpose of Source H-2, simply identifying himself with its positionality. Furthermore, in Yong-Hoon's view, drawing a parallel between slavery and the Holocaust was justifiable – if not desirable. It is too hasty to say that he took a revisionist stance towards the Holocaust through turning it into an event comparable to other cases in history. However, his belief that theme of the Holocaust can be universally applied to other forms of repression can be attributed to the dominant discourse of the colonial past in these adolescents' in-and-out of school experience. This finding seems to chime with Levstik's (2001: 79) remark about the impact of New Zealand's national narrative on its adolescents' orientations: 'although they were unclear about some (or even most) of the details of some events, they retained a sense of the moral weight of the past.' Yong-Hoon proceeded to argue that any atrocity could have been justified, depending on whose view has been taken.

To be honest with you, **if Germany had won, even the massacre of the Jews would have been justified**. […] Let me tell you. **Even though Japan lost the war, they never admitted what they had done to Asian people during the War**. You know what? Because they became strong again, **they don't give damn about acknowledging the past**. However strong criticisms against Japan's forgery of history are in Korea, they never listened to us […] They [Germans] would have attempted to prove that they did the right thing. Again, the Japanese claimed that they tried to modernise Korea.. Who asked them to do that? The Korean people? Definitely not. They just made an excuse for expanding their territory. […] In a similar fashion, **if Germany had won the war, no other country would have dared to condemn them**. Even now, when the US went to war on Iraq, many countries supported the war, assuming that there was enough reason to do that (H-U1-1, Yong-Hoon, M.16).

(referring to Source H-2) In a way, what the source two said was true. It was

> Europeans who began the First World War [he appeared to have meant the Second World War] because of national interests and following economic depression. They've done many horrible things to people in other continents. **Mass-killing of the Jews within Europe was not the only big deal in history. But also there are many great deals in history. Its significance in history tends to be highlighted too much** (H-L2-3, Tae-Jin, M.14).

Again, a parallel between the Holocaust and Japanese imperialism was drawn, though with a different emphasis from the previous comparison. For Yong-Hoon, acknowledging the past incorporates reclaiming a history by an oppressed group under conditions of unequal power. Like Yong-Hoon, students in this study tended to bring the issue of the war on Iraq into discussion of the Holocaust, often condemning the military action of United States. It is interesting to see these students position themselves as dissidents, sharing a critique of 'a winner's history'. Possibly, it has something to do with, what Riley (2001: 141) calls, 'a social criticism approach'[46], which is often favoured by history teachers rather than 'a social

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[46] History teachers often have difficulties in dealing with sensitive topics like the Holocaust, often

science approach'.

On the other hand, responses above seemed to take an instrumental view of historical writing, reducing historical considerations to national interests. In Tae-Jin's view, historical knowledge tended to be related to the questions that a group or society ask of the past, leading them to brush aside a 'weak' historiography.

9.2.4. Limiting case in history

The responses below also tended to acknowledge this instrumental appeal to the past. However, these students seemed to be reluctant to convert it into a form of radical relativism.

> **Compared to other atrocities committed by other countries, the massacre of Jewish people has been spotlighted too much**. In that respect, I totally agree with him [in Source H-2]. **But, the offence cannot be uncharged, because it's a crime against humanity**, I reckon (H-L3-3, Na-Hyeon, F.15).

> It [Source H-2] makes sense. Well, anyone can make mistake. And, some are highlighted while the others are hidden. But, you know, **the way it [Holocaust] had been carried out was so inhumane that the charge cannot be dropped** (H-L3-1, Young-Bin, M.14).

Na-Hyeon and Young-Bin regarded the Holocaust as a kind of limiting case, drawing more attention to normative orientations in history. In an attempt to explore their assumptions about a judicial past, the question of difference between judges and historians was pursued:

(Extract H-L3-I)

> Int.: Right. Let me ask one thing. Is there any difference between a judge and a historian?

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resorting to an affective approach to learning rather than 'a sustained analysis of historical evidence and other tools of discipline' (Riley, 2001: 141).

Na-Hyeon: Hum…

Int.: Do historians judge in the same way as judges do?

Na-Hyeon: I guess so.

Int.: You mean, historians listen to what different sources are talking about in the same way judges listen to prosecution and defence lawyers?

Young-A: In my view, what historians are doing is more like putting different pieces together, like, doing a puzzle. I mean, in a way, they **[historians] are puzzling out things, when they deal with different sources**. In contrast, **judges' job is literally judging who is right and who is wrong**, while they're listing to the both parties. I mean, historians' job is less to do with judgement in the same sense as happens during a hearing.

Int.: Right. What do you think, Young-Bin?

Young-Bin: Generally speaking, it's hard to tell which account is from a particular historian while the other is from another. I mean, **it's mistaken to attribute a certain character of historical account to an individual historian**, like, expecting them to judge the case as judges to. You know, what's happening in the court all comes down to making a judgement in the end. That's the judges' role. But, **the only thing the historian can do is to say whether the source makes sense or not rather than to say what's right or wrong**.

As seen above, for Young-Bin and Young-A, doing history is one thing, while doing history legally is another. In their view, the former seeks to make the objective unfolding of events intelligible rather than to subordinate historical understanding to a moral imperative. Taken these into consideration, in their case, understanding the politics of the Holocaust does not necessarily mean lapsing into the so-called cult of relativism. For them, moreover, doing history involves a more acute awareness of the complexity inherent in every historical reality, as Palti (2005: 438) remarks, 'fix[ing] criteria for discerning which among the mass of events bear historic meaning.'

In a similar vein, some older students also disregarded Source H-2 in a qualified way.

> I think the logic [in Source H-2] is not entirely wrong, even, quite convincing.

But, the thing is he chose the wrong client. You know, Germans went over the top. They tried to extinguish all Jews. **In terms of the scale, no other incident in the past could be compared with what the Germans did**. I don't think he can make the case for his defence because what the Germans did was beyond description (H-U1-1, Yong-Hoon, M.16).

> In a way, his argument makes sense. But, it doesn't mean that what the Nazis did can be justified. Maybe, the Holocaust was a part of the big trend in the last century's violence such as slavery and colonialism. But, the trial is more to do with the single event rather than the violence committed in the 20th century world history. I mean, **what a judge does is make a judgement about the case rather than putting his own questions against the broader frame of historical context** (H-U2-1, Jin-Wook, M-16).

Interestingly, despite an initial endorsement of Source H-2 (see pp.296-297), Yong-Hoon disvalued it in that no comparison between the Holocaust and any other atrocity could be made. Again, Jin-Wook partly agreed with Source H-2, attempting to link the Holocaust with other forms of discrimination or totalitarian phenomena that happened in recent world history. However, he showed disapproval of Source H-2 in that it was not appropriate for a lawyer to impose a macro analysis of history into particular conditions determining each specific case.

In conclusion, as is the case with Source H-1, Source H-2 also provoked the question of an instrumental approach to the past, particularly, an instrumentalisation of the Holocaust memory. While discussion of Source H-1 touched upon, what Moses (2005: 330) calls, 'the *historical* link between the Holocaust, the foundation of Israel, and the Palestinian catastrophe' (Moses' italics), that of Source H-2 converged upon 'the struggle over control of the memory of victimization' (Moses, 2005: 315). Overall, students showed disapproval of political or judicial use of historical memory. Of course, some students recognised there have been continuous attempts to use history for practical efficacy, and even for justifying the instrumental use of history. Perhaps, it has something to do with their ideas about historical writing: viewing historical accounts as political or ideological commitments, echoing with

White's (1987: 80ff, quoted in Moses, 2004: 314) remark about the use of history for an oppressed group: 'a conception of the historical record as being not a window through which to view the past "as it really was"...but rather a wall that must be broken through if the "terror of history" is to be directly confronted and the fear it induces dispelled.'

According to Palti (2005: 435), historical relativism can manifest itself as radical relativism:

> which rejects all reference to transcendent values, that is, to a realm of norms placed beyond factual reality [...] Historical writing thus is reduced to a merely instrumental task; what justifies it is its practical efficacy. Every historical consideration is then subordinated to national interest; rhetoric, finally, displaces the search for truth from its center.

Considering the nature of given sources, it is hardly surprising that students in this task paid more attention to politically committed relativism rather than theoretically and temporally motivated revisionism. As Zammito (2004: 134-135) notes, it might be crucial to stress the situatedness of the historical interpreter without lapsing into 'the otherness of the object of historical study':

> The flip-side of these ongoing pasts *in the present* is the absence of the past *in itself*, and the consequence is that history is cast necessarily upon the artifices of its theorization to retrieve what the past meant [...] Not everything can be 'revised' [at least at the same time]. But wherever any revisionism takes place, new methods must be on offer. Understanding history as theoretical construction both affirms the continuity and coherence of the disciplinary practice and allows for its internal contestation.

Summary

In this chapter, students' approaches to the use of history were mapped through analysing their judgement of written sources. In the case of the Russian Revolution task, students' choice of a better account illustrated the criteria which they employed for selecting a more grounded evaluation of the Russian Revolution. Importantly, students' approaches to the 'unfulfilled' past in Russia illustrated how they make sense of retrospective judgements about historical significance. In the case of the Holocaust task, the students' evaluation of the

source in question demonstrated their views on the appropriation of the past for present interests. On the one hand, students' approaches to the judicial past showed disapproval of instrumental approaches to the past. On the other hand, students also tended to view competing historiographies as a matter of the geopolitical representation of present interests, reflecting their exposure to the 'history war' between Japan and South Korea (for a discussion of the possible link between some students' instrumental approach to history and the sociocultural discourse available to them, see Chapter 11.1.2 and Chapter 11.2) Overall, students' ideas about the legitimate or illegitimate use of the past centred on a range of ideas, from that of a simple abuse of history for the sake of present concerns to epistemological/ontological relativism concerning historical interpretations. The following chapter addresses – on the basis of a cross-task analysis – the overall picture of students' historical understanding in terms of their epistemological orientation.

Chapter 10. Students' approaches to relativising the past

In this chapter, the students' broad epistemological orientation is outlined on the basis of a cross-task analysis. In particular, the issue of the relationship between students' ideas about the role of perspective and the reconfiguration of the past for the future will be discussed via a cross-task analysis, with particular reference to Chapters 7 and 8. The chapter explores the central question: in what ways are students' ideas about perspective in historical study linked to their views on the modification of historical representations? In addition to this, students' accounts of factors which are determinants of better filmic representations of the past will be taken into consideration. This question will be pursued giving consideration to the way in which their ideas about visual representations of the past are intertwined with those about historical representations in general. In the case of the Holocaust group, an additional written source (H-3) was given to students in an attempt explore the ways in which students understand the narrative of progress in history. Students were asked to comment on the question of the uniqueness of the Holocaust delineated in the written source. Given limited space, an analysis of students' assumptions about directions of change and their overall picture of the course of history was not included in this chapter (for a detailed discussion, see Appendix H).

The fact that the number of students who completed both tasks was limited did not allow the researcher to conduct a consistency analysis of determinants of different accounts and factors in the alteration of the past. However, in an attempt to map loose constellations of beliefs at work, it is worthwhile to follow some students' responses to each task. In the following sections, each figure shows a selected group of students whose set of ideas are based on a similar orientation. These students were selected in order to allow a more holistic picture of particular kinds of the responses. The epistemological orientation of these eighteen students can be divided into two categories, 'objectivist' and 'constructivist'. Importantly, within the two broad categories, a spectrum of beliefs about 'how we know about the past' is at work. The diagram below shows these students' broad orientations. The arrow in the diagram shows a link between these students' ideas about different historical accounts and their views on the revision of history.

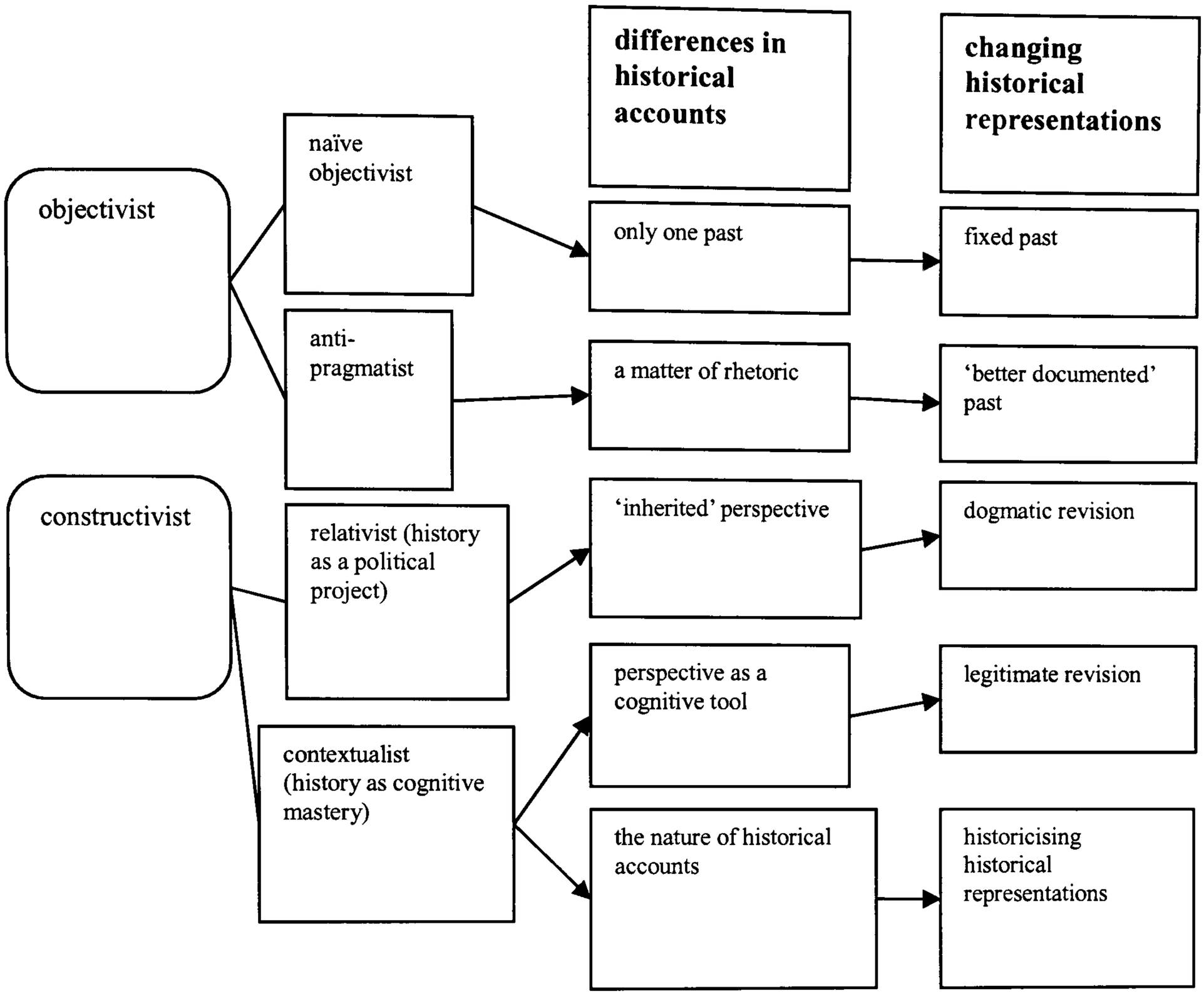

Figure 10.1. A map of students' beliefs about historical knowledge and its representation

As illustrated above, students' two broad epistemological orientations towards the past can be labeled as 'objectivist' and 'constructivist': while the former focuses on the 'actual' past, the latter draws attention to the 'possible' past. The former group of students can be divided into two sub-groups – 'naïve objectivist' versus 'anti-pragmatist'.[47] Both groups of students appeared to be similar in that they were reluctant to subscribe to the idea of 'different' historical accounts. However, while the former ('naïve objectivist') considered historical accounts as copies of the past, the latter ('anti-pragmatist') based their beliefs about

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[47] Students who were against the idea of extrinsic use of history were labelled as 'anti-pragmatists'. The usage of anti-pragmatism in this thesis is rather specific in that it denotes a rejection of an instrumental appeal to history.

historical knowledge on a more cautious approach to sociocultural representations of the past such as identity politics and winner's history.

In the case of the 'constructivist' group, there is a progression of ideas about what constitutes historical knowledge: from practical interest (inherited perspective) through comprehensive perspective (perspective as a cognitive tool) to interpretation as a methodical procedure (the nature of historical accounts). In the following sections, each group of students' picture of the past will be discussed in detail.

10.1. 'Objectivist' ('actual' past)

At first glance, students whose responses to different historical accounts ('How is it that we have different historical accounts?') fell within the category of 'no difference' (for a description of this category, see Chapter 7.1) appeared to perceive the past as a remnant of another time. However, students who denied the possibility of different accounts drew on a range of ideas about changing filmic representations of the past.

	Deciding on a 'better' filmic representation	Ideas about different historical accounts	Ideas about 'changing' films
Eun-Jin (H-L2-7) (F.13)	*Shoah* (eye-witness account as full truth)	no difference (the past is given)	unnecessary
Min-Soo (H-L2-4) (M.13)	*Shoah* (eye-witness account as full truth)	no difference (a matter of rhetoric)	no alteration (autonomous past)
Eu-Chan (H-U2-5) (M.16)	*Schindler's List* ('**objectivity**' vs. 'subjectivity')	about the same thing (no direct access to the past)	'better documented' representations of the past

Figure 10.2. Students whose ideas about different historical accounts fall into the 'no difference' category.

In the Figures in this chapter, the factors students considered in choosing a 'better' filmic

representation are added within a round bracket following the film of their choice. 'Bold' denotes the characteristic of the film that students think leads to a more accurate representation of the past (The abbreviations used in the Figures in this chapter follow those in the previous chapters).[48]

As seen above, students in Figure 10.2. were reluctant to subscribe to the idea of changing filmic representations of the event in question (for a description of the category of changing the past, see Chapter 8). Eun-Jin shrugged off the idea of changing filmic representations by saying that it is unnecessary to make films about a painful past. Eu-Chan and Min-Soo too, did not agree with the idea of the alteration of cinematic representations. While Min-Soo opted for 'no alteration', Eu-Chan qualified his initial objection to any change by proposing 'a better documented representation of the past'. Admittedly, students who believed that there is only one past favoured non-alteration or minor revision. However, in Min-Soo and Eu-Chan's case, the past is not fixed in the sense of being an archaic past.[49] For instance, responding to the question of factors determining differences between historical accounts, these two students attributed the sameness of accounts to rhetorical construction or empirical foundation, respectively:

> [...] even if there are some differences between two accounts in terms of wording or whatever, both accounts are the same in that the content of each account is the same (Min-Soo, H-L2-4, M.13).

> The situation itself is objective, something you can't change (Eu-Chan, H-U2-5, M.16).

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[48] L denotes lower secondary (middle school) students (12-15 year-olds), U denotes upper secondary (high school) students (15-17 year-olds). The participating institution was codified by letters such as A and B – e.g. (Extract R-L2-A): Middle School A, Year 2, for the Russian Revolution task. The students' names are preceded by indicators of the task group and age group to which the student belongs, as well as a number given to them for coding. In addition, students' sex and age are also included, in round brackets.

[49] The term here denotes the past perceived as a remnant of another time (Chakrabarty, 2000: 251). The two students above were aware of the historicity and relativity of historical accounts. For a response that attributed the sameness of accounts to a fixed past in the sense of 'archaic past', see Lee-Soo's responses on p.309.

In response to probing, Min-Soo's following response also falls within the category of 'perspective as a cognitive tool': '[…] historians keep changing their language in order to describe the past […] they can't help it, changing the description of the event in order to produce an 'appropriate' account.' In Eu-Chan's case, constantly being challenged by his peer in interview, the existence of different accounts did not exclude the possibility of sustaining what might not have been said.

(Extract H-U2-B)

Eu-Chan: I still think what they see as a situation would remain the same.

Chang-Soo: Even so, what they produce depends on their own view.

Int.: Right. (to Chang-Soo) You said before it depends on the person's experience.

Chang-Soo: Yes.

Int.: (to Eu-Chan) And, you said what they have seen is the same.

Eu-Chan: Yes. Even if there are some differences, it's a matter of degree rather than a matter of kind.

Int.: Right.

Eu-Chan: Even if there are some variations, what could be said would remain the same, I reckon.

There may even be a hint in Eu-Chan's words, that, as Zammito (2004: 134) puts it, 'there are many ways the past cannot have been, and even among the possible ways that remain, not all are equally plausible.'

Offering certain factors as determinants of a better filmic representation, Eun-Jin and Min-Soo employed the same category, 'first-hand versus second-hand knowledge', valuing *Shoah* on the basis of their belief in 'eye-witness account as full truth' (Eun-Jin: 'What he [the train driver] said seems true…'; Min-Soo: 'What he [the train driver] talked about was exactly what had happened to him. In addition to this, there was no reason for him to hold something back, telling a lie 'cos the war had already ended'). In contrast, Eu-Chan disregarded *Shoah*, defining its form as a device for reality effect ('the second film [*Shoah*] is too self-conscious, enforcing the feeling that it is real just because it's a documentary'). In Eu-Chan's view, the

question of cinematic subjectivity can be raised not only against fiction films but also against documentaries.

As seen above, students who hold seemingly analogous views about the picture of the past provide us with different understandings of how historical knowledge came into being and how historical representations are modified. In a similar fashion, students who do not agree with any form of possible change (in Jeong-Tae's case, probed further, he opted for 'better' documented representations of the past) seem to hold different views about how we know about the past. Figure 10.3. shows each move which these students (two from each task) made while responding to each question (the four students illustrated below do not belong to the 'objectivist' group in that their ideas about different historical accounts rather show the characteristics of the 'constructivist' orientation).

	Deciding on a 'better' filmic representation	Ideas about different historical accounts	Deciding on a 'better' historical account (and choices of written sources in the case of Lee-Soo and Eun-Seo)	Ideas about 'changing' films
Lee-Soo (R-L2-5) (F.14)	*Reds* (micro history)	a matter of 'opinion'	no direct access to the past (citizen – 'real' past: taken path)	no alteration (fixed past)
Eun-Seo (R-U1-2) (F.15)	*October* (explana-tory power); *Reds* (micro history)	perspective as a cognitive tool	(historian – ideal vs. reality)	no alteration (contemporary significance)
Jeong-Tae (H-U1-2) (M.16)	*Schindler's List* ('**objectivity**' vs. 'subjectivity')	no direct access to the context of the past	approximating interpretations	'better' documented representations of the past (filming the event as a source)
Chang-Soo (H-U2-6) (M.16)	*Schindler's List* ('**objectivity**' vs. 'subjectivity')	perspective as a cognitive tool	approximating interpretations	no alteration (no translation rule for historical representations)

Figure 10.3. Students whose ideas about changing films fall into the 'no alteration' category.

Both Lee-Soo and Eun-Seo opted for 'no alteration' though based on different grounds: the idea of a fixed past and contemporary significance, respectively. Not surprisingly, their favoured orientation illustrates a fairly consistent set of ideas, including their responses to the written sources. In the case of Lee-Soo, different historical accounts, which are mere 'opinions', come into being because we have no access to the past. For her, the past is 'actual' in a sense that there is no need to make the past intelligible. As a result, there is no reason to alter filmic representations ('things like revolution had happened in Russia, which is a fact'). Furthermore, it is pointless to assume that a different path was possible ('there hasn't been any case in history so far [...] the ideal Communist society, just like he [the historian in Source R-2] said, never existed'). In contrast, for Eun-Seo, different versions of the same event ought to co-exist in order to produce a narrative which is intelligible ('Whenever 'a' history is written, historians' subjectivity comes into play'). Facing the question of changing filmic representation, she gave the intrinsic importance of the event as a reason for non-alteration ('the significance of the event didn't just disappear [...] Even though some of those [political reforms in history] failed, people kept the record, remaining proud of what it meant to them at that time'). In a similar vein, she agreed with Source R-2 (historian) on the basis of explanatory power ('although a new form of equality was created, the ideal itself still remains as significant as ever').

Even though both students did not agree with any possible modification of the film based on a re-evaluation of the Russian Revolution, their accounts of the reasons for non-alteration seem to reflect their different pictures of the past: a singular past in the sense of an archaic past (in Lee-Soo's case) versus the sense of an 'ideal' past (in Eun-Seo's case). Responding to the question about which was the better representation of the Russian Revolution, while Lee-Soo opted for *Reds* ('It's more detailed'), Eun-Seo valued both films, since either can be seen as a better or worse explanation, according to the criteria one has adopted. For instance, *October* falls within Eun-Seo's standards for a better explanation because of its explanatory power ('approaching the event through revealing a range of evidence step by step'). *Reds* is also valued because of its focus on the possible explanation of historical actors ('*Reds* seems to have a closer look [...] There is an explanation [...] the main characters tell us what's happening, for example, what Russian people's thoughts are and what they set out to do').

Like Eun-Seo, Jeong-Tae and Chang-Soo denied the possibility of altering the films, while admitting the cognitive role of perspective in shaping historical accounts. In other words, for them, unlike Eun-Jin and Lee-Soo, the past ought to be recounted both as a reality and as a mental construction.

Responding to the question of how to decide which is a better account, Jeong-Tae pointed out the difficulties of getting access to the 'true' meaning of the text ('even when you read a book, it's hard to know which context it was written in'). On being probed further, he resorted to the replacement of old facts by new facts. ('Once a new fact comes out, […] if it is more accurate than existing facts, people begin to believe that it is true. That way…').

Compared to Jeong-Tae, Chang-Soo was bolder in analysing the role of perspective, as illustrated in the exchange of ideas with his 'objectivist' peer (see p.307). However, facing the issue of the criteria for a better account, he was not helpless like other students who turned to either an anti-realist or a pragmatist position, since he insisted that 'apart from each account, there must have been a 'past' account and a 'future' account of the event. You could reach a certain conclusion through comparing the 'past' [interpretation] with the 'future' [interpretation][50].'

What Jeong-Tae and Chang-Soo have in common is their appraisal of the films about the Holocaust. Unlike most of the students in the Holocaust set, who regarded *Shoah* as possessing an 'objective' gaze (if not being a transparent window) into past reality, both students dismissed *Shoah* on the basis of the excess of 'subjectivity' shown in the director's highly personal approach to the theme (in the case of Jeong-Tae: 'addressing a kind of subjectivity') and its lack of checks on each eye-witness's claim for the truth (in the case of Chang-Soo: 'The first one [*Schindler's List*] views things in an objective way while the second one [*Shoah*] does so in a subjective way […] it was based on individual truth').

Given the fact that students watched just a few clips of the film, it is possible that these

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[50] By 'future' interpretation here, Chang-Soo meant subsequent interpretations, drawing attention to a comparison between previous historical accounts and the subsequent historical accounts.

students did not detect the unifying theme of *Shoah*, that is, 'suggest[ing] a mythic link between the destruction of European Jewry and the birth of Israel – i.e. catastrophe and redemption – which in turn, give a new dignity to the Jews of the Diaspora, as victims or survivors' (Friedlander, 1994: 152, quoted in Loshitzky, 1997: 115). Interestingly, however, there was a tendency of some students in the Holocaust set (see Eu-Chan's response on p.307), to assign non-neutrality to the style and narrative of *Shoah*. It can be said that the tone of the last film clip, of the interview with the former Nazi officer, might have had an impact on students' ideas about the nature of the director's project, echoing what Bartov (1997: 55) argues:

> *Shoah* is highly biased, and its biases are intensely personal, stemming directly from its maker's own national and ideological prejudices and finding expression in his style of interviewing, his editing technique, and the content of his comments.

This kind of recognition of documentary as a perspectival medium was not confined to the students quoted above. In the following, the responses of students who viewed the past as something constitutive of the present will be discussed.

10.2. 'Constructivist' ('possible' past)

This group of students, which can be classified as 'constructivist', are divided into two categories, which may be characterised as seeing history as a political project and history as cognitive mastery according to their ideas about the status and role of perspective in historical enquiry.

10.2.1. History as a political project

Compared to students in the previous group ('objectivist'), the responses of students in this group show less diversity, tending to align along the axis: 'inherited' perspective – dogmatic revisions of history. Students in this category view perspective as something that happens to be attached to the historian rather than as a conscious cognitive achievement. As a result, the issue of making changes to the representations of the past is resolved via a relativist stance.

Before proceeding further, in an attempt to explore the extent to which students' sets of ideas can be seen as stable frameworks for how history works, it is worth detailing Jeong-Ho's responses as a kind of borderline case.

	Deciding on a 'better' filmic representation	Ideas about different historical accounts (and approaches to the use of the past in the case of Dong-Han and Young-Mi)	Deciding on a 'better' historical account (and choices of written sources in the case of Jeong-Ho)	Ideas about 'changing' films
Jeong-Ho (R-L2-3) (M.14)	*October* (explanatory power)	imperfect artefacts (also 'inherited' perspective)	separating facts from opinions (historian: hypothetical past)	'better documented' representations (also dogmatic revisions of history)
Mi-Jin (R-U2-25) (F.16)	*October* (**actual** vs. abstract)	'inherited' perspective	separating facts from opinions	dogmatic revisions of history
Dong-Han (H-L2-5) (M.13)	*Schindler's List* (eyewitness accounts as partial truth)	'inherited' perspective (revisionist approach)		complete mastery of the past
Young-Mi (H-U1-5) (F.15)	*Schindler's List* (micro history) + *Shoah* (macro history)	'inherited' perspective (limiting case in history)	practising trades in different worlds	practical past

Figure 10.4. Students whose views on perspective fall into the '"inherited" perspective' category

As shown in Figure 10.4., Jeong-Ho's responses often fell into two categories, 'imperfect artefacts' and 'inherited perspective'. However, what concerns him most is that there is an inescapable deficit in historical knowledge. For that reason, the existence of different historical accounts is attributed to a lack of information about the past ('It is impossible to preserve things in perfect condition [...] if there are well-preserved artifacts, [...] it might be possible to have accurate historical accounts'). His belief in a 'knowledge gap' in historical study seems to underlie his ideas about reconstructions of the past, running parallel with ideas about historical accounts and filmic representations of the past:

(During the discussion of the inclusion of Korean nation-founding myths in history textbooks)

There were times when people added something to the basic facts. […] There must have been some sources, which were polished and highlighted later.

(In response to the question of the alteration of filmic representation)

There must have been lots of publications about the Revolution, which they hadn't known then […] they would have put more facts in the film to make it look more real.

In dealing with written sources about the appraisal of the Russian Revolution, Jeong-Ho opted for Source R-2, suggesting an alternative path in history

If people in a Communist country followed the basic rule of the society as people do in a democratic society, there could have been more chance for Communism to outgrown democracy.

Compared to other students who also suggested a hypothetical past (for Yong-Beom's and Hye-Da's response, see pp.288-289), his response had more to do with criticisms of current affairs ('If the ideal of Communism comes true, everybody can be equal, living their own life to the full… there would be no homeless people as we have in South Korea') than with an attempt to 'distinguish between the importance of necessities' (Oakeshott, quoted in Hawthorn, 1991: 9). Regarding which was a better filmic representation of the past, Jeong-Ho chose *October* on the basis of its explanatory power as a visual account :

the scene [in *October*] symbolises the end of a chapter of history, like, showing the last gasp of the Dynasty, like giving me a sense of a total upside-down. In that sense, the film is more substantial and closer to the historical truth.

It is important to note that there is a set of ideas at work across the different tasks. As illustrated in Figure 10.4, Jeong-Ho's ideas about differences in historical accounts oscillate

between a knowledge issue (imperfect artifacts) and an author issue ('inherited' perspective). His suggestions for changing filmic representation of the past seemed to reflect the very co-existence of these two types of ideas in that he proposed both 'better documented' representations of the past and dogmatic revisions of history.

Amongst the students in this group, Mi-Jin can be seen as another borderline case in that some aspects of her responses hinted at certain elements of ideas that can be found in the following group of students. For instance, Mi-Jin seems to hold the view that historical accounts are bound to be different according to the individual's standing in society ('everybody has different ways of seeing the event because each person's position varies'). However, Mi-Jin was not helpless in the face of the question of acceptable historical knowledge; that is, she went on to propose that it might be possible to decide a better account by minimising subjectivity from a given account ('We can try to objectify a historical account as much as possible').

In response to the question of a better filmic representation, Mi-Jin considered *October* as a better representation of the past in that it succeeded in carrying the essence of period to an extreme ('the Russian people's belief takes a pure form in the film'). In response to the question of the possibility of the alteration of films, *October* was chosen on the basis of its nature as a political project ('*October* was a kind of project, which had got a certain purpose'). In her view, since *October* fully submitted the experience of the Revolution to justification by the establishment of the USSR, the perspective of the film ought to have been altered more than *Reds* as a result of the loss of its cause in current sociocultural settings. Probed further, Mi-Jin delineated her ideas about the construction of historical accounts:

Int.: Don't you think that what happened at that time would have remained the same? Can we change the facts?

Mi-Jin: Well, I believe in 'the truth', I mean, the truth exists in any historical account. But, even in history textbooks, there are some aspects which are more valued than others

Possibly, her assumptions about the modification of historical representation lie somewhere in between dogmatic and legitimate revisions of history.

While Jeong-Ho and Mi-Jin can be seen as borderline cases, Dong-Han's and Young-Mi's responses are more exemplary. Clearly, both students framed the question of conflicting (or contrasting) accounts in terms of partisanship (Dong-Han: 'It all depends on which country he or she belongs to. In particular, when they talk about things like war'; Young-Mi: 'It depends on which past you belong to [...] if the person or the nation got involved in the massacre, it is hard for them to avoid taking sides'). In particular, Young-Mi seemed to reject the possibility of arriving at more acceptable historical knowledge since every account is invested with present interests ('Even if the way each version is presented seems to be impartial, every historical account has its own agenda to raise'). In response to the question of filmic representations of the Holocaust, Young-Mi valued film-making about the painful past, framing the issue in terms of the 'practical past' ('What matters is giving them [the next generation] an opportunity to reflect upon the past for their own future'). In Dong-Han's case, the question of the possibility of alternative representations of the event was construed as a matter of creating diverse views of the past ('they [film directors] would have responded to that kind of criticism, I guess. No film could be a great success without appreciation by critics and the public in general').

In giving factors for the better representation of the Holocaust, Dong-Han questioned the credibility of eye-witness accounts in *Shoah* ('there was no incentive for him [the Polish train driver] to tell the full truth. I mean, there wasn't enough reason, or pressure for him to try harder to reveal the whole truth. [...] there seemed to be an inhibition when he talked. [...] a kind of limitation he seemed to admit unconsciously'). For him, *Shoah* is limited in that its whole project was based on eye-witness interviews, which are likely to be contingent upon intentional or unintentional omissions. In Young-Mi's case, priority is given to *Shindler's List* on the basis of its capacity for creating human understanding, though with the reservation that *Shoah* may be used as supplementary material ('Once you inform audiences with background knowledge of the event by using *Shoah*, you can move on to what people felt at that time through *Schindler's List*').

What underlies Dong-Han's and Young-Mi's ideas about historical representations can be summarised as an instrumental approach to history in that their positive views on the use of the past run through their responses across the different tasks. It is also noted that their notions of perspective in historical enquiry, as illegitimate viewpoint, imbued their relativist stance toward historical knowledge and their understandings of revisions of history as a political project.

10.2.2. History as cognitive mastery

As seen in the previous section, loose sets of ideas underlie students' responses to the different tasks. Most of all, beneath the consistency, lie a range of ideas about the role of perspective in historical enquiry and the modifications of historical representations. Students in the 'history as cognitive mastery' group can be divided into two sub-groups according to their views on the role and status of perspective in historical enquiry, that is, whether they understand 'perspective as a cognitive tool' (see Figure 10.5.) or 'perspective as the nature of historical accounts' (see Figure 10.6.).

Even within the same category, notably, the question of how acceptable knowledge about the past can be arrived at often provoked different responses. Overall, however, students in this group began to acknowledge that, in Hawthorn's (1991: 170) phrase, 'descriptions [...] do suggest one line of explanation rather than another, and do preclude others.' As a result, the alteration or non-alteration of representation of the past is considered as a question of historicising our view of historical writing. It is this view on historical knowledge that differentiates this group of students ('history as cognitive mastery') from those in the previous group ('history as political project') within the 'constructivist' orientation. Let us turn to the first group of students within the 'history as cognitive mastery' category.

	Deciding on a 'better' filmic representation	Ideas about different historical accounts (and approaches to the use of the past in the case of Tae-Jin and Song-Joo)	Deciding on a 'better' historical account (and choice of written sources in the case of In-Beom)	Ideas about 'changing' films
In-Beom (R-U2-4) (M.16)	*October* (**neutrality** vs. partisanship)	perspective as a cognitive tool	consulting sources (citizen: **experience** vs. theory)	historicising representation of the past
Yoo-Hee (R-U2-19) (F.16)	*Reds* (**neutrality** vs. partisanship) *October* (explanatory power)	perspective as a cognitive tool	arbitrating and approximating interpretations	legitimate revisions of history
Tae-Jin (H-L2-3) (M.14)	*Shoah* (**natural** vs. artificial) +(eyewitness account as full truth)	perspective as a cognitive tool (revisionist approach)		practical past + complete mastery of of the past
Song-Joo (H-U2-4) (M.16)	*Shoah* (micro history)	perspective as a cognitive tool (historicising history)	separating facts from opinions	the autonomous past

Figure 10.5. Students whose views on perspective fall into the 'perspective as a cognitive tool' category

For In-Beom and Yoo-Hee conflicting historical accounts are a natural (if not necessary) product of different approaches to past events, involving changing evaluations of the state of affairs across time:

> (Responding to the question of Prince Kwang-Hae[51])
> Modern-day historians come to a conclusion like that because they take into account the harsh political situation at that time, which had led contemporary

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[51] Here, contrasting appraisals of the rule of Prince Kwang-Hae across different periods was introduced by the interviewer.

accounts into taking a negative view of Prince Kwang-Hae [...] there are many more sources to which modern-day historians could refer than before. **It is a kind of accumulation of experiences and views about the event, which was not available to historians at that time** (In-Beom , R-U2-4, M.16).

> Each period has its own values, [...] which historians think matters [...] it is possible to know whether there is any distortion of the truth through investigating the facts [...] interpreting the way each historical account conveys a particular value, like, positive or negative, all comes down to the historian's decision [...] **Bringing about different interpretations is a part of historical enquiry. In a way, it's historians' right to do so** (Yoo-Hee, R-U2-19, F.16).

As these comments suggest, for In-Beom and Yoo-Hee different historical accounts came into being through either fresh material from archives or a new 'interpretive' explanation based on 'accumulated' historiography. Moreover, in their view, historians are able to offer a new insight into the past, accommodating new developments of a series of events into their pattern of interpretation; unlike the students in the previous category, for them, revision in historical writing is 'legitimate', even if historians are not wholly free of their any deeply-rooted world views.

It is also illuminating to note the way students construe the question of changing the filmic representation of the Russian Revolution as 'the "context" of our explanation' (Hawthorn, 1991: 171).

> If the purpose of the film-making were confined to describing the October Revolution, there would be no reason to alter it in the present [...] **it depends on the coverage of the period**. If their film covers the later state of the regime, a negative perspective would come into play (In-Beom, M.16).

> The black and white film [*October*] would have been affected more [...] **the way it [*October*] portrayed Lenin would have been changed to a less celebrating way [...]** You know, compared to the black and white film, **the**

colour film maintained a more objective perspective. For that reason, the colour film would have been changed less than the black and white film would have been. […] Hang on! In the 1980s, what was the U.S. like? **Was it still in the Cold War period? […] I think that also influenced the production of the colour film [*Reds*]** (Yoo-Hee, F.16).

For In-Beom, it is matters of relevance and scope that determine the revision of filmic representation. For Yoo-Hee, it has more to do with the sociocultural context in which the film should be located. Yoo-Hee draws more attention to the way in which a version of the cinematic past is produced (and circulated) has shifted over time.

As for the better representation of the past, it is Yoo-Hee who valued both films on the basis of *Reds*' detachment from the past and *October*'s explanatory power. Initially, she discredits *October* due to its style, regarding *Reds* as a more objective depiction of the event However, probed further, she also gave credit to *October* since the film submitted the past experience to one of the interpretations of the period in a succinct way ('the black and white film [*October*] has got a clear focus on a heroic figure of the period […] Lenin was such an important person at that time, a sort of populist leader of the age'). In-Beom disregarded *Reds* on the grounds that it was not able to direct its answer to the question that, he thinks, is essential to understanding the event ('the director's [Warren Beatty's] concern is more to do with his [Jack's] dream about socialist nation-building in the U.S. than with the Russian Revolution itself).

What underlies In-Beom's and Yoo-Hee's choice for a better historical film is their criteria for a better historical account in that both students paid attention to the significance of the interpretive focus of the film. It is also worth noting that In-Boem's and Yoo-Hee's ideas about modification of filmic representations reflect their notions of perspective as legitimate viewpoint. What concerned them most was whether the filmic past entails the historicity of historical enquiry, open to further revisions based on a new set of assumptions underlying the society at a given time and place.

Within this category, compared to students in the Russian Revolution set, those in the

Holocaust set tended to refer to the issue of competing historiographies. It can be argued that the content of the given sources in the Holocaust set influenced their approaches to the task, since the written sources centre on the question of how to mobilise the past for the present issue at stake. To be specific, drawing comparisons between different past injustices in Source H-2 (and, partly, a criticism of the so-called 'Shoah-business' in Source H-1) seemed to lead students to relate their ideas about historical writing to the problem of the politics of recognition, although maintaining their distance from so-called Holocaust denial.

In the case of Tae-Jin (H-L2-3, M.14), writing history itself tends to involve different appraisals of the past across time ('because Shin-La united the Three Kingdoms [in the 7th century in Korea], the way the history of Three Kingdoms period was written favoured Shin-La [...] That's why the content of history has kept changing, adjusting itself to the period [...] That's how different accounts armed with different historical facts come about'). Perhaps his ideas about amendment in historical study oscillated between legitimate modification and dogmatic revision.

In respect of making a film about the painful past, Tae-Jin's responses were more closely connected with the idea of the 'practical past' ('It's worth making a film about the event as a reference for the future, like, in order not to repeat the same thing'). However, for him, there is always a gap between intention and effect as far as filmic representation is concerned ('you've got to differentiate what the directors intended to do with their film from what they didn't intend, like, the unintentional effect of the film'). Interestingly enough, Tae-Jin's comment on Source H-2 demonstrated a criticism of the possible link between dominant historiography and international power politics. ('The mass-killing of the Jews within Europe was not the only big deal in history. But also there are many great deals in history. Its significance in history tends to be highlighted too much').

Furthermore, Song-Joo (H-U2-3, M.16) pointed out that the given frame of representation tends to be limited since Western historical thinking has become the dominant discourse in historiography ('Compared to what the Nazis did, other evil things drew less attention [...] not every theme or topic in history has been handled on equal terms. In particular, the images shaped by Western views tend to dominate historical writings'). Possibly Song-Joo's view on

the monopoly of European historical thinking reflects present-day concerns about how to give a sufficient account of previously neglected themes in historiographical representations.

With respect to the comparison of different filmic representations of the Holocaust, both students considered *Shoah* as a valid medium for understanding the past. Tae-Jin dismissed *Schindler's List* on the basis of its genre, giving credit to *Shoah*'s claim to describe the past reality as it was ('it [*Schindler's List*] is a [fiction] film, which tends to include some elements of entertainment. In contrast, this one [*Shoah*] has less to do with fun, 'cos real witnesses talked about the event as it had happened').

In the case of Song-Joo, it is *Shoah*'s approach to the event that brings the complex testimony on the Holocaust into historical perspective ('it [*Shoah*] is digging up what was behind the scenes, like asking eye-witnesses what kind of logic was operating at that time'). In this sense, Lanzmann's *Shoah* is considered as what the director himself has called 'a film of "corroboration"', 'the product of a vigorous and systematic historical method which transcends art in its consistent search for historical truth […]' (Loshitzky, 1997:106).

In the following, the belief system of students who considered 'perspective as the nature of historical accounts' (the second sub-group of those who regard 'history as cognitive mastery') is discussed (see Figure 10.6 on p.323). While Song-Joo and Tae-Jin in the previous group attributed multiple perspectives in history to the practical function of historiographical discourse, Young-Bin, Jin-Wook and Seong-Mi note that it is the historian's attempt to make sense of the past in a valid way that brings about different historical accounts.

(Responding to the researcher's introduction of different accounts of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588)

Even though the result was the same, I mean, England's victory over Spain, **historians could explain the process of the war in different ways […] they have different views about what the war was about** (Young-Bin, H-L3-1, M.14).

In my view, factual statements, like, 'Japan invaded Korea', could be objective. The thing is, **history calls for explanation**. I mean, **while filling the gap between factual sentences, the authors' personal views or standpoint and the atmosphere of the period, etcetera, seem to come into play** (Jin-Wook, H-U2-1, M.16).

(responding to Jin-Wook's comment) Hang on. Even a factual statement can't be value-free. Let me give you an example. If there is a sentence, like 'Under these circumstance or conditions, Japan invaded Korea,' it will give you an impression that there must be a reason for Japan to do that. In contrast, 'Japan's invasion brought the Korean people into these situations' sounds as if it must have been written from Korean people's point of view. […] I mean, **even though you write a sentence which is full of hard facts, you can't be completely objective** (Seong-Mi, H-U2-10, F.16).

As seen above, for Young-Bin, Jin-Wook and Seong-Mi, what matters is not so much a complete record of the full truth as how historians justify their choices. As Lorenz (2004: 39) points out, 'the most we can strive for is a sound knowledge of the different points of view, leading to a maximum of empathy and to mutual understanding of past and present positions.' However, the question of the issue of criteria for judging competing accounts provoked different responses. For instance, Jin-Wook proposed an ethical base rather than an epistemological one ('you can come to a certain conclusion via a consideration of a kind of universal criteria, like, ethics, or the human conscience'). In contrast, Seong-Mi attempted to suggest a methodical solution to the problem of criteria by pursuing common grounds ('it's hard to know the whole truth 'cos you never know fully what they're thinking inside. Only if what they're talking about coincides with each other, can you trust what they're talking about, I mean, on the condition that there is not a huge contradiction between two accounts').

On the other hand, elucidating the difference between historical knowledge and a judicial past, Young-Bin proposed that the choice of perspective in historical study might not be attributed to a particular historian in the sense that a jury might determine each verdict. ('it's

mistaken to attribute a certain character of historical account to an individual historian [...] the only thing the historian can do is to say whether the source makes sense or not rather than to say what's right or wrong'). These three students' views on multiple perspectives in historiography have more to do with, in Lorenz's (2004: 39) phrase, 'presenting history in the form of debate among different and often conflicting representations' than with reaching a consensus in historical study.

	Deciding on a 'better' filmic representation	ideas about different historical accounts (and approaches to the use of the past)	deciding on a 'better' historical account	ideas about 'changing' films
Young-Bin (H-L3-1) (M.14)	films are all construction+ *Shoah* (**real life** vs. fiction)	perspective as the nature of historical accounts (limiting case in history)		complete mastery of the past
Jin-Wook (H-U2-1) (M.16)	*Schindler's List* (micro history)	perspective as the nature of historical accounts (limiting case in history)	practising trades in different worlds	historicising history (also complete mastery of the past)
Seong-Mi (H-U2-10) (F.16)	*Shoah* (**natural** vs. artificial)	perspective as the nature of historical accounts (warning against 'practical past')	practising trades in different worlds	against the abuse of history

Figure 10.6. Students whose ideas about perspective fall into the 'perspective as the nature of historical accounts' category

With respect to a cinematic representation of the Holocaust, Jin-Wook and Seong-Mi paid attention to the boundary between 'authentic' fiction films and 'real' documentaries:

(Extract H-U2-G)

> Seong-Mi: You know, films tend to dramatise things, even if they are based on a true story [...] Of course, **there is a possibility of selection even in a documentary, because the process of editing involves a certain choice**. But, still, the documentary [*Shoah]* is more accurate than the film [*Schindler's List*], because **documentaries value factuality more than fiction films do**.

> Jin-Wook: Even though the film [*Schindler's List*] is a kind of fiction, it's made in an attempt to inform people of what happened to the Jews in the past. […] you know, **the film [*Schindler's List*] directly shows what could have happened to the Jewish accountant and the person who tried to do his best to rescue him**. In contrast, I've got an impression that *the documentary is keeping a distance from what was going on at that time.*

For both students, the genre factor (fiction film versus documentary) cannot be the sole determinant of a 'real' rendition of the past, since neither film is free from the issue of selection and the choice of perspective in representing the Holocaust. However, with respect to what makes a 'better' representation of the Holocaust, Seong-Mi and Jin-Wook disagreed with each other; that is, while the former was inclined not to distrust the documentary as creating an illusion of depicting the past 'as it really was', the latter valued the fiction film on the basis of its ability to facilitate our capacity to empathise with historical actors.

Initially, Young-Bin was reluctant to choose a better filmic past on the ground that filmic representations are all construction:

> Are you asking the question on the condition that the two films are true? You know, **films are all about construction**, I mean, in the light of the purpose of film-making […] Let me ask one thing. Is the film [*Schindler's List*] also based on a true story in the first place? […] If you want to see **'fact' only**, the documentary [*Shoah*] should be better.

Probed further, Young-Bin chose *Shoah* on the basis of its 'factuality'. On the one hand, it is his views on filmic representations in which there is no 'translation' rule of past realities that led him to refuse to 'judge' a better film. On the other hand, for him, a comparison of cinematic pasts depends on the factors that are taken into account by the viewer as giving a film a more accurate representation.

What is common amongst students in this category is the way they confidently weave filmic representations of the past into historical representations in general. In response to the

question about the possible revision of the film, these students envisaged the idea of constant creation of different cinematic versions of the Holocaust:

> Given that purpose [commercial success], they would not have any choice but to shoot a film in a different way in order to attract an audience, like, they've got to have something new to show (Young-Bin, M.14).

> I don't think any change would have been made. If they shot another film, like, 'What's the matter between Israel and Palestine', then it is another story (Seong-Mi, F.16).

> As long as the description of the event is true, why do we have to bother about the impact of the films? [...] Even if the films can be used as justification of what Israel did to Palestine, there is nothing the directors can do about it (Jin-Wook, M.16).

For Young-Bin and Jin-Wook, concerns with the adverse effect of the so-called Holocaust industry (delineated in Source H-1) cannot justify restricting an attempt at a continuous re-configuration of the event. In the case of Seong-Mi, the warning against the peril of the abuse of the past can be resolved through generating separate representations of the present issues between Israel and Palestine. On the other hand, responding to the line of argument in Source H-2, Jin-Wook and Seong-Mi showed uneasiness toward the way the past is used for practical purposes:

> It doesn't make sense that white people can't make a judgement about the Holocaust just because some of them committed slavery in the last century (Seong-Mi, F.16).

> [...] this lawyer's concern is less to do with Nazi mass-murder than to do with other events comparable to the Holocaust [...] emphasising that what the Nazis did was just a part of the product of the period [...] his argument makes sense. But, it doesn't mean that what the Nazis did can be justified [...] what a judge

> does is make a judgement about the case rather than putting his own questions against the broader frame of the historical context (Jin-Wook, M.16).

For Seong-Mi, the way history is used as a practical reference in the lawyer's defence can be seen as an abuse of history. In Jin-Wook's view, the value of history cannot be equated with practical reference. Interestingly enough, for him, the defence failed to achieve its aim by stepping into the domain of the historical approach. In his view, a judge's role is confined to seeking a fixed single-track judgement rather than opening a new way of thinking as is often the case with historical research.

In this chapter, a cross-task analysis led to tracking each move which particular students made over the interview, illustrating a possible link between their ideas about different aspects of historical study. Students' understanding of the role of perspective seemed to be closely linked to their views on revision in history. For instance, students who opted for alteration were inclined to view the past as something constitutive of the present – this orientation was labeled as constructivist – and they assigned a formative role to perspective in historical accounts in terms of practical utility, drawn from either social needs or scope and relevance in historical enquiry. In particular, it is notable that students who considered historical knowledge as a 'socially motivated [mis]representation of the past' (Tosh, 2005: 21) – the stance, categorised as history as a political project– tended to frame the question of the alteration of the past in terms of dogmatic revision. On the other hand, students who viewed differences in historical accounts as a result of historians' choices of framework – perspective as the nature of historical accounts – were inclined to consider modification of history as legitimate revision.

In contrast to this constructivist stance, those who chose non-alteration seem to align with radically different sets of ideas about the past: a singular past, in the sense of an archaic past, versus an actual past, in the sense of both a realist and an anti-pragmatist stance – in the case of the latter group of students ('actual' past), the autonomy of the past matters in a historicist sense, allowing room for reconstruction, in an attempt to make the event 'intelligible'. In that respect, for these students, the past is not regarded as a mere remnant of another time, and they differentiate themselves from the former's naïve objectivist orientation.

Summary

This chapter discussed students' epistemological orientations towards historical representations through exploring a link between their ideas about perspective in historical enquiry (Chapter 7) and their approaches to changing representations of the past (Chapter 8). This cross-task analysis gave rise to the categorisation of two broad orientations. Within the first category (objectivist), students' stances towards the past were divided into two sub-groups, which may be termed naïve objectivist and anti-pragmatist: both tended to dismiss the idea of changing historical representations. However, unlike the first group, the second are aware of an interplay between historical representations and present-day concerns. In the case of the second category (constructivist), the relationship between students' ideas about the role of perspective in historical study and their approaches to the revision of history was more straightforward. While those who regarded historical accounts as a mere representation of practical interests tended to highlight dogmatic revisions of history, those who considered historical accounts as a cognitive mastery tended to focus on the historicity of historical representations. As identified in this chapter, exploring the relation between students' underlying assumptions about historical knowledge and their stance towards the revision of history illuminated the complex configuration of their understanding of the relationship between objectivity and historicity. The link between students' preconceptions of perspective and those of the re-configuration of the past, and the implications of this link for history educators, will be discussed in depth in the following chapter

Chapter 11. Conclusion

In this chapter, the main findings of this study will be summarised, with close attention paid to identifying possible links between different aspects of historical understanding. This will be followed by a discussion of particular findings that require further analysis. Finally, questions for further research and suggestions for teaching practice in history classrooms will be outlined, with an emphasis on the question of how to proceed with empirically grounded research into adolescents' historical thinking and its context.

11.1. Summary of research findings

This thesis set out to explore secondary school students' ideas about different representations of the past through the use of historical films. The two sets of films were employed in an attempt to chart the ways in which students take into account different factors, including authorship, sociocultural milieu and genre, which structure historical representation. An attempt to map out students' approaches to the filmic past and their criteria for a 'better' historical representation gave rise to the following research questions. The principal foci under investigation are set out below each question.

1. What strategies do students employ in approaching the filmic past?
    1.1. Students' approaches to forms of representation: students' ideas about reality and credibility and their interpretations of the truth status of films.
    1.2. The characteristics of students' assumptions about the limits of interpretation of the past event.

2. In what ways do students conceive authorial subjectivity in reconstructing the past?
    2.1. Students' ideas about the status and role of perspective in historical accounts.
    2.2. In what ways are students' ideas about perspective in historical study linked to their views on the modification of historical representations?

11.1.1 Main findings

Prior to summarising the main findings, at least two caveats need to be made. First, rather than in articulating their viewing experience *per se*, the focus of this research lay in investigating the ways in which South Korean adolescents interpret contrasting (if not conflicting) accounts of past events depicted in films in terms of 'better' historical knowledge. This leads into the second caveat, which may be raised as a question: To what extent can we consider students' understandings of visual representations of the past as a way of 'making sense of history' in general? As briefly discussed in Chapter 10, students' responses often reflected concurrent uses of different types of knowledge about 'better' historical or cinematic representations. However, what is at issue here is the manner in which students brought to bear a range of ideas about representations of the past on the basis of either their notions of building up acceptable historical knowledge or those of 'ideal' filmic construction. The main findings can be summarised as follows.

- What strategies do students employ in approaching the filmic past?

First, not surprisingly, accounting for differences between two films in each task set – *October* (1928*) / Reds* (1981) (the Russian Revolution set); *Shoah* (1985) / *Schindler's List* (1994) (the Holocaust set) – students in this study paid attention to the primacy of the visual since it provided an opportunity to encounter 'authentic' reconstruction of the past. Overall, *October* and *Schindler's List* were given credit in terms of visual supremacy. However, while valuing the strength of visual configuration on the basis of its immediacy and verisimilitude, students also expressed some reservations about the danger of its masquerading as an 'objective' depiction of reality. Crucially, students tended to disregard the Hollywood narrative's psychological approach to history as a popular tale rather than a historical tale; *Reds* and *Schindler's List* were often called *mere cinematic presentations.* In this respect, students in this study cannot be seen as mere passive consumers of visual culture, in which the emergence of new cultural practices (new types of exhibition and other forms of simulacra such as history-channels and Hollywood films) allow adolescents to experience the past with more immediacy than was once the case.

Second, students appeared to perceive the difference between the pairs of films in terms of a documentary - fiction binary opposition, considering *October* and *Shoah* as news-reel like reports while regarding *Reds* and *Schindler's List* as fictionalised dramas. In other words, students who chose either *October* or *Shoah* as better representations of the past tended to focus on the empirical basis of the construction of socio-historical reality. In contrast, those who opted for *Reds* and *Schindler's List* tended to base their choice on understandings of historical actors and powerful narratives.

Third, apart from the genre factor, the categories frequently employed by students were 'first-hand versus second-hand knowledge' (in the case of the Holocaust set) and 'neutrality versus partisanship' (in the case of the Russian Revolution set). Interestingly, the element of testimony in *Shoah* was either endorsed (as the eye-witnesses' direct experiences) or dismissed (due to the 'personal' nature of their account). Most of all, across the two tasks students tended to attribute 'completeness' to an ideal account of the past, disregarding the presence of perspective as a 'partial' picture of the event. However, students who acknowledged the role of perspective in terms of the process of historical enquiry began to articulate how to set a particular view within a sociocultural context, historicising representations of history.

- In what ways do students conceive authorial subjectivity in reconstructing the past?

First, a range of ideas about contrasting historical accounts broadly concurred with the findings in previous research (Lee and Shemilt, 2004). Students' conceptions of different historical accounts identified in this study can be mapped out as follows:

1) No difference – 2) A matter of 'opinion' – 3) Imperfect artefacts– 4) 'Inherited' perspective – 5) Perspective as a cognitive tool – 6) The nature of historical accounts.

In the case of responses tending to fall into the first category (no difference), seemingly different historical accounts are about the same thing, though with different rhetorical

devices. In a similar fashion, in the case of responses belonging to the third category (imperfect artifacts), differences are attributed to gaps in information about the past, which is seen as a pre-given entity. While the third category aspires to achieve 'completeness' of history as a 'full' chronicle, the second category (a matter of 'opinion') questions the very possibility of historical knowledge, on the ground that 'accounts fail to be copies of a past we cannot witness' (Lee and Shemilt, 2004: 30).

Compared to previous categories, the fourth category ('inherited' perspective) begins to acknowledge the possibility of different historical accounts in terms of a knowledge issue rather than an accessibility issue: critical interrogation of the relationship between objectivity and interpretation begins to emerge. However, what separates the fourth category from the fifth (perspective as a cognitive tool) and sixth (the nature of historical accounts) categories is the view on the role of perspective as an 'illegitimate' force, which guides historians according to their practical interest and partisanship. In contrast, the last two categories acknowledge the perspectival nature of historical knowledge in a different way. For instance, responses in the fifth category (perspective as a cognitive tool) conceive perspective as a legitimate element in organising historical accounts on the basis of conceptual issues such as time, scope and historical significance. In the case of the last category (the nature of historical accounts), perspective is considered as a necessary cognition, which makes the past intelligible: here, epistemological reconstruction of the past is seen as a necessary condition for objective knowledge.

Second, students' notions of the role of perspective in historical study tended to be intertwined with their views on the modification of historical representations (here, changing filmic versions of the past). Students who favoured non-alteration or minor revision were inclined to take an 'objectivist' stance, while those who opted for radical alteration tended to adopt a 'constructivist' stance. Within these two broad orientations, a spectrum of ideas was identified (for a diagram of students' beliefs of historical knowledge, see Chapter 10).

In the case of the constructivist orientation, the role of perspective in historical study is regarded either as a source of 'partial' construction of the past or as an element of a necessary process in historical enquiry. Students who attributed different representations of

the same event to individual or collective authorship in terms of partisan engagement, focused on the aspect of dogmatic revision of history with respect to the question of alteration of films. In contrast, students who viewed different perspectives as a 'natural' component of historical explanation, framed the question (particularly in the Russian Revolution set) in the light of legitimate revision, attributing possible alterations to different scope and to the audiences at stake.

Within the objectivist orientation, despite seemingly analogue ideas about 'only one past', two different presumptions about historical knowledge were at work. For students who considered the past as 'given', historical representations were mere copies of past events, thus any possibility of different versions of the past (within or across time) was lightly brushed aside. In sharp contrast, for those who acknowledged the fact that historical accounts require explanation (like their constructivist peers), the question of making the past intelligible came into play. The latter position held the view that alteration of filmic representation would not do justice to the past. Unlike the former (naïve objectivists), the issue of revision of history (changing filmic versions of the past) was considered within a frame of contemporary significance. In other words, in their view, the process of the past needs to be distinguished from documentary/cinematic forms of representation; the meaning of the past event ought not to be subjected to political appropriation. To put it simply, for those students who valued the autonomy of the past, 'perspectiveful neutrality' (Barca, 2005: 70) was stressed in a sense of both a realist and an anti-pragmatist stance.

Prior to concluding this section, it is worthwhile to note the ways in which students interacted with each set of films used in this study. The pattern mentioned above was identified across the two tasks (the Russian Revolution set and the Holocaust set), but it shed light on various different aspects of historical understanding. The theme of each set of films and materials (films clips and written sources) used in each task appeared to be linked to the way in which students approached the filmic past in this study. While the films about the Russian Revolution (*October* and *Reds*) led students to come to terms with the question of interpretive differences across time (here, in the pre/post-Soviet era), those about the Holocaust (*Shoah* and *Schindler's List*) led them to consider the question of making sense of historical actors (here, situated in the so-called limiting case in history, the Holocaust). A

comparison of responses between the two tasks was made in Chapters 8 and 9 (for a brief summary, see p.277, pp.301-302), but the impact of the characteristics of film clips and written sources on students' responses needs to be delineated within the context of students' in and out of school experience. A more systematic investigation of the interaction between students' approaches to the filmic representations and their substantive knowledge about the events in question as well as their everyday experiences in general would require further research. However, it would be valuable in the next section of the thesis to consider the ways in which the nature of the events in question shaped students' approaches to historical representations, placing the question in a broader context of students' historical orientation.

11.1.2. The research findings in the South Korean context

As far as the school curriculum is concerned, neither of the topics selected for this study is extensively covered in history classrooms in South Korea. Accordingly, it is not difficult to suggest that students' attitudes towards the topic – often showing strong attachments or intimate sympathies – and their ability to construct alternative narratives can be partly attributed to a 'general flow of social discourse' (Létourneau and Moisan, 2004: 122) that they may consciously or unconsciously have adopted. Across the two tasks, the most frequently used references to current affairs were the ongoing controversies over the content of school history textbooks in Japan and launching the war on Iraq (such references were more frequently present in the Holocaust set).

Considering the outpouring of concern in the media on these topics during the data collection (between 3rd May and 28th June 2003), it comes as no surprise that students framed interview questions, and weighed up conflicting accounts of the same event, from the perspective of competing historiographies driven by political interests. To be more specific, the constant increase of attention to the 'under-representation' of Japanese atrocities during the Pacific War in history textbooks in Japan seemed to bring students to regard history as a struggle over which meanings would be valued in the service of current interests. On the other hand, the U.S.- initiated war on Iraq was employed as an instance of recurrences of human atrocities, which led students to see the Holocaust as an ongoing event. Furthermore, students voiced concerns that the Holocaust would have been justified in textbooks if Nazi

Germany had won the Second World War, in the same way as the war on Iraq was being presented as 'the war against terrorism'.

It would not be an overstatement to say that this preoccupation with 'the winner's history' can be attributed to the fact that South Korean students are exposed to a highly nationalistic narrative in and out of school experience – condemning Japanese textbooks as giving an insufficient account of past injustices done during the Japanese occupation (see Chapter 3. Context of the research). Curiously, while the collective memory of Korea's colonial past was often called upon by students, their experience of living in a divided country was scarcely reflected in their responses. Even the responses to the question of an alternative path for the USSR in the Russian Revolution set hardly drew on ideological conflicts between the North and South. Of course, there were some responses pointing out the presence of inequality in (Capitalist) South Korea as a way of addressing the issue of an 'unfulfilled' future for Communist society in general. For instance, students argued that the implementation of socialist ideals could have made Communist countries 'outgrow' Capitalist counterparts in terms of economic equity and social justice. However, direct references to current affairs between the North and South were largely absent in students' responses.

This absence can be partly attributed to the shift from Cold War narratives to the new narrative of 'collective forgiveness' mobilized by South Korea (Jager and Kim, 2007: 242). An emphasis on the past shared by the two Koreas seems to form part of a narrative template in which the national past is presented as a struggle against foreign aggression. As Jager and Kim (2007: 264) suggest, 'The shift [in Post-Korean War consciousness] has also brought a fundamental reevaluation of U.S. – South Korean relations in the aftermath of the Iraq War and the legacy of the unfinished war that the United States is now seen as perpetuating.' Strong criticisms of U.S. foreign policy expressed by a few students in this study seemed to reflect a wider historical consciousness in which the 'local' (the two Koreas or Iraq) is romanticised as the site of resistance against 'international bullies' (for the growing anti-American feeling in South Korea, see Chapter 3.3).

Overall, the way in which students in the Russian Revolution set approached different

historical representations tended to involve dispassionate examination, and a distancing of themselves from their own life-world experiences. Arguably, facing the issue of how to explain different interpretations, students were confident in employing controversies over the colonial past as a result of the flux of nationalistic discourses available to them. In the following section, a few general observations regarding the extent to which visual representations of the past functioned as a backdrop against which students understood past (and / or present) society will be offered.

11.2. Further reflections on selected findings

This section will analyse the context in which different approaches to the two tasks might be invoked, and suggest possible reservations regarding the main findings. First of all, as there was no group of students who did both tasks, the Russian Revolution set and the Holocaust set, a cross-task comparison was limited. However, the kind of move students made, while responding both to the question of filmic representations (more task-specific) and to the issue of historical writing (less task-specific, if not entirely free from the research setting), can illuminate their underlying ideas about historical representations in general.

Overall, in dealing with the question of better filmic representations of the past, students drew on similar criteria to those which they applied to the question of which was the more valid historical account. However, some respondents were not inclined to judge which film gave the better historical account, invoking the notion that films are all construction. At first glance, this kind of response seemed to imply that the students were not capable of 'reading' different interpretations of the past. Probed further, however, some of these students showed an awareness that historical films are the situated and mediated labour of cultural productions. In addition to this, students who were initially reluctant to 'judge' one or the other as a 'better' film, were more willing to voice their opinions about the films in the face of the re-phrased question of 'which film is more real?'

Ostensibly, these students struggled to come to grips with the opening questions ('Is there any difference between the two films?'; 'Which film better helps you to really appreciate what happened in the past?'), partly because the question was at odds with the way in which

they approached historical films in an everyday context. Initial resistance seemed to be resolved by discussing the films in question in terms of the notion of realism as a way out. Interestingly, these students also showed an understanding that reality cannot be reflected directly through the language of film, pointing out the reality effect created by continuity editing. In the pilot study, there was an indication that students who excelled in the last part of the interview about the trustworthiness of different visual media, tended to demonstrate more confidence in dealing with the positionality of seemingly neutral representations of reality such as photography and documentary films. Due to the limits of time and space, this aspect of students' understanding was not investigated further.

As noted at the beginning of the previous section (11.1.1), students simultaneously drew on a series of ideas about 'better' representations of the past both in cinematic and historical reconstruction, often segueing the former with the latter across the two tasks. However, more responses in the Holocaust set explicitly distinguished between the two types of representation by holding the view that the filmic construction of the event is one thing, and historical research into the past is another. Compared to responses in the Russian Revolution set, those in the Holocaust set tended to highlight the way past events are 'constructed' and 'circulated', paying attention to a relationship between a film and its reception. Moreover, students in the Holocaust set tended to scrutinise the two films, *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*, in terms of filmic language, focusing on a filmic mode of address and their own choice of reading route. This result can be ascribed both to the nature of the historical event and to the film clips used in this study (for construction of the research instrument, see Chapter 5.3). Compared to the film clips used in the Russian Revolution set, those in the Holocaust set (particularly in *Shoah*) placed students in the position of encountering, in Ellsworth's (1997: 118) phrase, 'the discontinuity between testimonial stances of the Jews, the ex-Nazis, and the bystanders'.

Of course, it is not fair to say that students in the Russian Revolution set did not pay any attention to the representational devices and conventions of *October* and *Reds*. Responding to the question about 'better' representation of the Russian Revolution, students also delineated what is involved in the configuration of the event in its actuality, stressing the difference between talkie film versus silent film. In addition, some responses noted the link

between the audiences' way of reading of films and the mediating factors in film-making such as a director's choice of composition and editing. In particular, these students were able to acknowledge forms of representation as containing implicit principles of interpretation (particularly, in the case of *October*). What is at stake here is that, unlike *Shoah* in the Holocaust set, neither of the two films (*October* and *Reds*) presented 'the *incommensurability* of different topographical and cognitive positions' (Felman and Laub, 1992: 206, quoted in Ellsworth, 1997: 118, Ellsworth's italics). Since there is no conflict of heterogeneous points of view within a film in the Russian Revolution set, each film was conceived as a 'final' reading of history. These students 'judged' a 'better' film on the grounds of which film could help viewers develop a better knowledge of the Russian Revolution, assuming that the pair of films in the task set would include a 'correct' and an 'incorrect' reading of history.

Overall, the most frequently drawn criterion for 'better' representation of the Russian Revolution was neutrality versus partisanship. The criticism of partisanship was mainly leveled at *October*, though *Reds* was also regarded as an American 'political project' by some students. For this reason, some responses were reluctant to choose 'one' better representation of the event. This does not mean that students in the Holocaust group did not base their choice of film on the concern with 'better' knowledge of the past. In their case, as discussed in the previous section, the decision was often made on the basis of first-hand versus second-hand knowledge: *Shoah* was both valued and critiqued due to the (un)trustworthiness of its form of testimony. The more coherent the film was, the more prepared students were to accept a 'settled' meaning of the film, without taking into full account the routes they took to arrive at a particular interpretation.

Apart from the characteristics of the research instrument, what influenced students' interpretation of the films can be assigned to the ways in which students encountered the events in question. As briefly discussed in section 11.1.2., both topics, the Russian Revolution and the Holocaust, were foreign (if not obscure) to students at least in relation to their formal schooling – at the level of implementation of the school curriculum, teachers tended to give only a cursory glance to very recent history, which is weighted less in university entrance examinations.

With respect to pre-knowledge about the films, there were only a few students who had watched the films used in this study. Predictably, *Schindler's List* is the only film they had encountered before, not as a collective viewing at a cinema but as a solitary viewing at home (or, with their family members). Considering the year of release of *Schindler's List* (1994), it is unlikely that students in this study watched the film at the cinema, sharing contemporary audiences' responses to the film. There were seven students in this study who watched *Schindler's List*. All of these students' viewing took place either at home or in the classroom.[52] Even on those occasions where students watched a 're-run' of the film on television at home or watched a video in the history classroom, the film did not seem to leave a greater impression on those students than other films they gave as examples of 'Holocaust Films' such as *Life is Beautiful* and *The Pianist*. In the case of the Russian Revolution set, when commenting on *October*, a few students made reference to experiences of viewing anti-Communist propaganda films as a school activity in their primary year.

This study did not intend to explore the 'social outside' of the curriculum, that is, students' viewing experience such as a collective viewing at a cinema and watching a film with their family members at home. The impact of sociocultural discourse on students' interpretations of the films in this study was partly taken into consideration in terms of the ways in which students in each task group approached the substantive topic and the implication of its salient issue for historiographical debates. This, in turn, gave rise to an analysis of their ideas about retrospective historical significance (in the case of the Russian Revolution) and those about the limits of interpretation (in the case of the Holocaust set). At least, it is safe to say that students brought a kind of ready-made 'official' narrative from both in and out of school experiences to their investigation of the films and written sources. In the case of the Russian Revolution set, during the discussion of the given or alternative path for the USSR, several references were made to the content of social studies textbooks, such as a comparison between Communism and the 'Free World' and welfare policies of Capitalist society as a response to the challenge of socialism. In the case of the Holocaust set, most references were drawn from students' everyday experiences, such as media coverage of the dispute over the

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[52] Three middle school students watched *Schindler's List* as a part of their history lesson. One middle school student and three high school students watched the film at home with their family members.

content of history textbooks and the issue of reparation towards the Korean comfort women during the Pacific War.

In summing up this study and its implications, it is important to remember two limitations. First, it did not systematically investigate the interaction between students' interpretations of the task and socio-culturally provided discourses both about the events in question and about how the past is represented. Second, given the impact of 'in school' experiences, one of the components that influenced students' responses and yet remained untouched was the pedagogic approaches which they encountered. Bearing these limitations in mind, the following section will offer preliminary suggestions for teaching history in South Korea and suggest possible new directions for further research.

11.3. Implications for history education in South Korea and questions for further research

Over the past decade, there has been a growing body of research on adolescents' historical thinking, exploring two aspects: their ideas on historical study and the ways in which they relate to the past. While the former has elaborated on students' prior conceptions of historical enquiry, focusing on the learning of history as an intellectual craft, the latter has focused on students' personal attributions of meaning to history, highlighting the moral or ethical dimensions of historical understanding in everyday life. These two approaches appear to run parallel to each other. However, a broader sense of historical consciousness can be assigned to both aspects of historical thinking.

As suggested in the previous sections, students' ideas about historical representations are dependent on the socio-cultural frameworks of reference to the past that are available to them, as well as on their assumptions on historical knowledge as a formal thinking process. This thesis has shown that in South Korea students' historical thinking tended to be polarised into two types, seeing history as an 'objective' chronicle or as 'subjective' interpretations. This tendency reflected a tension between two positions, a positivist and, in Rüsen's (2005: 31-32) words, a 'critical type' in the field of history education. It is this tension that has dominated the process of framing the rationale for history education, as well as the revision

of history textbooks (for a discussion on history curriculum reform and current issues of history education in South Korea, see Chapter 3.). In this respect, further research on adolescents' historical thinking needs to be set within a broader context, in which different aspects of historical understanding are seen to collide and shape each other. As discussed in Chapter 3.3, debates on history education in South Korea tend to be shaped within a framework in which 'universal' learning theory (concerning historical thinking skill among others) is juxtaposed with 'distinct' disciplinary understanding (historical awareness in particular). What is lacking in the binary model of 'historical thinking' and 'historical consciousness' is a recognition of the ways in which students' conceptual frameworks may give rise to the formation of a wider sense of historical orientation. As Lee and Howson (forthcoming) point out, 'the *kind* of past that students work with helps determine the kind of orientation available to them' (Lee and Howson's italics). Bearing this in mind, it is crucial for history teachers to offer tools with which students can conceptualise the world in which they live. In the face of conflicting historical accounts, students would be better equipped only when they acknowledge that historical accounts are not copies of the past, rather a kind of picture from the vantage-point of our own interaction with it.

In this study, historical films were used as a medium to explore how adolescents perceive the way in which past reality is represented, thus clarifying the interwoven nature of their historical understanding both in terms of history as a discipline and in terms of the culture of history in public and everyday life. Of course, films are not the only useful tools to investigate students' conceptions of representations of the past. For example, in the field of history education research, paintings have been used as both investigative and educational tools, for example, to assess the ways in which students interpret murals in order to get a sense of their reasoning about the colonial past, its pictorial representation in the 1930s, and its uses in the present (Seixas and Clark, 2004). The use of paintings in such a way enables students to consider how and why the period depicted was visualised in a particular way in the historical paintings, rather than only questioning the paintings from the present or the period depicted (Card, 2005). Clearly, as is the case with historical paintings, employing historical films for classroom use can be a powerful tool in that it will give students an opportunity to reflect on the relationship between the past depicted, its later representations, and their own interpretations.

Arguably, the recent interest in the impact of the filmic past on students' historical thinking can be attributed not only to the use of film as a teaching tool for discussing historical interpretations, but also to its seemingly alarming role as a replacement of history. In other words, the increasing concern with the role of Hollywood films as 'the main repository of cultural memory and authority' (Hoberman, 1998: 80) has highlighted the issue of widening the notion of historical thinking: 'visual media represent a major shift in consciousness about how we think about our past' (Rosenstone, 2006: 160). Crucially, concerns with blurring the boundaries between reality and fiction in representing the past draw attention to a tendency to assign all representations of history to the role of the production of collective memory for an 'imagined' community. As Hoberman (1998: 82) remarks, big-budget film biography or historical reenactment in the Hollywood film industry can be seen as 'spectacular displays of pure might, would-be interventions, contributions to (or, perhaps, substitutions for) a national discourse.'

If historical films offer a new form of historical thinking, historical literacy needs to be seen in a wider capacity, extending its scope into the realm of visual literacy. In this study, few students approached the films from the perspective that a cinematic interpretation of history requires the same rigour as disciplinary history. Nevertheless, students applied similar categories for better understanding of the events to the filmic past as they did to historical research: overall, students favoured a realist mode of address as a better way of representing the past. Moreover, it is also worth noting that students' approaches to the credibility of the visual past were not monolithic. At one end of the spectrum lay the naïve realist position, which considered the filmic past as a carbon copy of the past. At the other end lay the postmodern relativist position, which suggested that there was a kind of slippage between authorship and its reception. Somewhere in between lay a contextualist position, which assumed that no film directors were free from sociocultural contexts, while acknowledging their room for manoeuvre.

Interestingly, both the naïve realist and the contextualist positions tended to choose 'better' representations of the past on the basis of the question of subjectivity, though with different approaches to the issue. In the case of the former, the more the film director strives for

'perspectiveless' neutrality, the more accurate the cinematic past apparently is. In the case of the latter, it is the film director's subjectivity that renders the past reality into a comprehensible form as a 'part of an ongoing cultural dialogue about truth, knowledge and power, in which historical accounts play an important part' (Seixas, 2006: 153). In contrast, assuming that the 'text' no longer speaks for the author, the relativist position holds the view that there is no rule for 'faithful' rendition of the past. In this case, the criteria for 'better' cinematic past become insignificant since audiences' readings of a given filmic past often escape the film directors' intention – no matter what they aspired to achieve. It is hasty to suggest that the so-called postmodern conditions of society shape students' ideas about authorship and the role of perspective, given that the radical subjectivist position was taken up by a distinct minority of students in this study.

Most of all, students' approaches to conflicting representations of the past can inform us of their historical orientation. For the last decade, a range of research on adolescents' historical thinking touched upon, or directly dealt with, the nature of students' ideas about different historical representations: student's prior conceptions of history, progression in ideas about historical accounts (Lee and Ashby, 2000; Lee and Shemilt, 2004), students' ideas on objectivity in history (Barca, 2005), and on significance in history (Cercadillo, 2001). In this study, the ways in which students conceive authorial subjectivity in reconstructing the past were explored through their ideas on criteria for providing a 'better' historical account and the factors for changing historical representations across time. Based on the main findings of this study, the implications for history education can be delineated as follows:

First, the thesis identified a range of ideas about different historical accounts: 1) No difference; 2) A matter of 'opinion'; 3) Imperfect artefacts; 4) 'Inherited' perspective; 5) Perspective as a cognitive tool; and 6) The nature of historical accounts. These types suggest students' assumptions on how historical knowledge came into being. Students' epistemological orientations can be divided into two categories, namely 1) The past as a remnant of another time and 2) The past as something constitutive of the present. To put it simply, the first three categories – 1) No difference; 2) A matter of 'opinion'; and 3) Imperfect artefacts – belong to the former orientation, assuming historical accounts as failed (or would-be complete) copies of the past. In contrast, the last three categories – 4)

'Inherited' perspective; 5) Perspective as a cognitive tool; and 6) The nature of historical accounts – point us to the latter orientation, showing an awareness of what constitutes historical knowledge. However, there are some important differences: from practical interest through comprehensive perspective to interpretation as a methodical procedure. Overall, compared to lower secondary students (aged between 12-14), upper secondary students (aged between 15-17) more often tended to attribute the difference of historical accounts to the nature of historical research. However, some younger students also framed the question of conflicting historical representations on the basis of the interpretive focus in historical study.

Second, possible clusters of preconceptions about the role of perspective and revision of history were identified: students' responses tended to line along three axes: 1) only one past – no alteration or 'better documented' past; 2) 'inherited' perspective – dogmatic revisions of history; 3) perspective as a cognitive tool – legitimate revisions of history. Compared to 2) and 3), the picture of 1) is more complicated than it initially appeared to be. Behind the ideas about 'only one past' lie different assumptions on historical knowledge: naïve objectivist versus realist and anti-pragmatist. It may be worth pursuing a line of research to touch upon different aspects of historical understanding as this can unfold a more complex picture of students' historical thinking.

As discussed in Chapter 3.1, the focus of research in the field of history education in South Korea remained narrow in that most researchers paid attention either to the factual knowledge issue (e.g. how the content of history textbooks reflects the latest outcome of scholarly works) or to the presentation of the selected content (e.g. the use of historical sources in history classrooms and other forms of lesson plan). What remained relatively unexplored is the question, what kind of preconceptions do students bring to history classrooms? As Donovan and Bransford (2005: 7) point out, 'knowledge of facts and knowledge of important organizing ideas are mutually supportive'. It is crucial for history educators to identify students' preconceptions, thus leading to the development of conceptual frameworks that act as scaffoldings for further learning. The main findings of this study indicate that students' beliefs about the nature of historical knowledge underlie their approaches to the modification of historical representations. For example, students who

conceive perspective as legitimate viewpoint tended to explore the set of assumptions underlying a given historical representation. It was this group of students equipped with more powerful conceptual frameworks who tended to consider revisions of history as an emergence of new constellations of historical knowledge, more attentive to *how* they shifted over time rather than *what* is represented.

Third, this thesis provides evidence that students' historical understanding is shaped by their ideas about the interplay between representations of the past and present-day concerns: how to locate themselves in a relationship to the past, present and future. In particular, the responses of group 2) ('inherited' perspective – dogmatic revisions of history) reflect students' frequent encounter with a position that emphasises the politicised aspect of competing historiographies. As noted in the previous section (11.1.2), students' ideas about historical knowledge seem to be shaped by only one, often the most blatantly one-sided, version of historical accounts. As Foster and Crawford (2006: 7) point out, 'often missing or marginalised in school textbooks is a plurality of discourses and narratives that might emerge from oppositional histories.' Given the fact that school history textbooks in South Korea are often subject to debate over the under-(or over-) representation of a one-sided view of the past, it comes as no surprise to find that students in this study tended to frame the question of 'better' historical accounts in terms of 'winning' the battle of historical controversy. Bearing this tendency in mind, it is critical for history teachers in South Korea to pose the question of historical knowledge not only in terms of sociocultural representation of the past or identity politics, but also in light of conceptual issues such as choices about spatio-temporal scale and the construction of context which may be crucial factors for guiding perspective in historical accounts. In this respect, more attention needs to be focused on providing students with 'big pictures of the past', or better still, '*historical* developmental narrative of change', which involves a 'sense of themes relating to one another, or of different directions of change in different themes' (Lee and Howson, forthcoming). This line of enquiry can be pursued as exemplified below:

> Students can suggest their own criteria for assessing change, and see the ways in which any 'story' (however simplified) changes with these 'markers'. Hence there is room for manoeuvre for students to arrive at their own interpretation, not on juvenile whim, but as part of patterning themes and

> assessing the significance of change. Here issues of content arise, not in terms of a canon, but in terms of what is appropriate for particular themes and questions.
>
> (Lee and Howson, forthcoming)

Fourth, this thesis showed that the students in this study tended to disapprove of the idea that the historicity and objectivity of historical accounts can be compatible. They perceived the role of perspective in historical representations across time as a dogmatic revision of history. This tendency appeared to be closely linked to students' ideas about how a particular historical representation 'achieved' its dominant status: often in classroom settings, even alternative versions of the past tended to be presented as 'fixed' knowledge. What is overlooked in the history classroom in South Korea is the process through which different historical accounts came into being from a disciplinary perspective. However, some students (i.e. those in group 3): perspective as a cognitive tool – legitimate revisions of history) were able to regard an active structuring of historical knowledge as a part of cultural practice at a given time, through historicising historical representations. In the case of this epistemological stance, students tended to attribute the differences between different/various historical representations to historical significance arising from the *Zeitgeist* of the period. Notably, by acknowledging the 'legitimate' role of perspective in historical study in terms of its historicity, these students made a shift from a kind of reproduction of the past to a kind of organisation of the past. This points us towards the potential of the pedagogical use of various historical films across time that would possibly enable students to historicise the historical change represented in a particular medium at a given time.

Finally, the characteristics of students' ideas about the limitations of interpretation in the cinematic past in this study did not concur with commonly held assumptions on the influence of film on adolescents' historical understanding. It can be argued that cinematic representations of the past encouraged students to dwell on the reconstruction of historical knowledge rather than to enhance the myth of immediate and unmediated access to the past. Of course, the direct juxtaposition of two films in this study invited students to view the films more critically rather than to merely accept certain representations as pre-given reality. Possibly, students' encounters with historical films in other settings would result in different ways of interpreting the medium. At least, it is safe to say that the overtly subjective position

of the film's mode of address can help students become aware of the structuring of historical knowledge as a part of cultural practice. However, mere exposure to contrasting frameworks of representation of the past could cause students to become susceptible to vulgar 'postmodern' doubt or relativist eclecticism. What is at stake here is how to enable adolescents to develop a critically questioning relationship between past practice and the context of reconstruction. The positionality of historical representation is culturally agreed or discursively negotiated. However, it is the public sphere for confrontations and debates, which a film creates, that also determines boundaries of representation of the past. Bearing this in mind, history teachers may draw attention to an analysis of the filmic representation of social relations by 'asking students to compare the interpretation of the past depicted in historical films with related research by historians as well as to relate the visualised past to the period of the film's production' (M.-J. Kim, 2005: 28).

Considering the complex interactions between the cinematic past and present-day historical consciousness and understanding, it would be worthwhile for future research studies on the learning of history to examine how students interpret the past reality depicted in films in a more inter-disciplinary way. In this study, students who were armed with visual literacy, showed confidence in, if not a deeper understanding of, interpreting differences in historical representations (for a detailed discussion, see Chapter 10). Perhaps, this finding points to what may be important factors for understanding the way in which students come to terms with the question of how the represented past depends for its contingent and provisional condition on its representation across disciplines. This thesis identified that the comparison task in this study led some students to acknowledge the possibility of different interpretations of the past, thus opening up possibilities for a more questioning perspective on the nature of historical representations. However, prior to encouraging students to arrive at their own reading of the past event, it is important for history teachers to offer a framework within which students can engage in exploring an alternative interpretation of the past events. For instance, this line of enquiry can be pursued by asking 'Whether filmic representations correspond to what it is possible to know about past realities'.

In conclusion, the use of historical films in the classroom can enhance students' understanding of the constitutive relationship between the past and the present, asking why a

past event is depicted in a certain way, or how we view a particular representation. Moreover, employment of historical films as a teaching tool can be more beneficial if history teachers take into account a range of students' ideas about historical representations. For instance, under seemingly similar ideas about historical accounts and filmic representations lies a spectrum of beliefs on the construction of historical knowledge and its reconstruction through visual media. Most of all, given the fact that history education in South Korea focuses on a broad exposition of positivistic knowledge of either dominant or counter narrative as a final reading of history, it is crucial to provide students with a framework within which they can confront the dynamics through which historical representations themselves develop historically.

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Appendix A.

The revision of National Curriculum Guidelines in South Korea between 1954 and 2001[53]

Curriculum (announced year)	Focus	Features
1st (1954)	Nationalism, anticommunism, Anti-Japanese Imperialist legacy	Curriculum-centred education
2nd (1963)	Nationalism, anticommunism, Anti-Japanese Imperialist legacy	Experimental curriculum Military exercises (1969)
3rd (1973)	Nationalism and developmental education	Curriculum focused on academic achievement Teaching Korean history as a separate subject
4th (1981)	Nationalism and autonomous Development	Emphasis on national spirit Integrated curriculum
5th (1987)	Nationalism and autonomous development Reduction of anti-Japanese sentiment	Emphasis on economic education
6th (1992)	Globalisation and democratization	Specialised study of foreign languages English in elementary schools
7th (1997)	Democratic international citizenship and decentralization	High school with choice of subjects; Level-based / objective-based curriculum Expansion of regional and school independence

[53] The entries under 'Focus' were drawn from 'Summary of Chief Objectives of South Korean National Curriculum Guideline Revisions' (Wilson, Ford and Jones, 2005: 252), and the main 'Features' were selected from 'Changes in the Curriculum of Elementary [Primary], Secondary and Higher Education System', in *Education in Korea 2005-2006*, Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, Republic of Korea, p.37 (or http://www.moe.go.kr). For a more detailed description of the characteristics of the South Korean National Curriculum, see Appendix B.

Appendix B

The seven revisions of the National Curriculum in South Korea

Curriculum and When announced	Focus	Features
1st (1954)	Curriculum-centred education	Ordinance on class time assignment ('54).
2nd (1963)	Experiential curriculum	Chinese Letters education ('72). Military exercises ('69).
3rd (1973)	Focused on academic enrichment	Teaching Korean history as separate subject ('73). Ethics ('73). Japanese language ('73).
4th (1981)	Emphasis on national spirit	Reduction/coordination of amount to be learned. Integrated curriculum management for 1st and 2nd year in elementary school.
5th (1987)	Emphasis on economic education Emphasis on regional characteristics	Science High Schools and Arts High Schools. Integrated curriculum for elementary schools. New subjects: information, industry.
6th (1992)	Improvement of organisation/management system	Sharing roles among the government, regions, and schools. New subjects: Computing, Environment, Russian Language, Careers/ Vocations. Specialized study of foreign languages. English in elementary schools.
7th (1997)	Centred around students	High school curriculum with choice of subjects. Level-based curriculum Establishment and expansion of independent activities. Objective (competence)-based curriculum. Expansion of regional and school independence.

(adapted from Table: Changes in the Curriculum of Elementary [Primary], Secondary and Higher Education System, in *Education in Korea 2005-2006*, Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, Republic of Korea, p.37, or http://www.moe.go.kr)

Appendix C.

The National Curriculum in South Korea: time assigned for each subject[54]

School Year	Primary school						Middle school			High school	
Subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 12
Korean language arts	Korean Language arts 210	Korean language arts 238	238	204	204	204	170	136	136	136	Selected Subjects
Ethics			34	34	34	34	68	68	34	34	
Social Studies	Mathe-matics 120	Mathe-matics 136	102	102	102	102	102	102	136	170 (Korean History 68)	
Mathema-tics	Ethics 68	Ethics 68	136	136	136	136	136	136	102	136	
Science	Wise Living 90	Wise Living 102	102	120	102	102	102	136	136	102	
Practical Course			_	_	68	68	Technical education/ Home Economics 68	102	102	136	
Physical Education	Pleasant Living 180	Pleasant Living 204	102	102	102	102	102	102	68	68	
Music			68	68	68	68	68	34	34	34	
Arts			34	34	68	68	34	34	68	34	
Foreign language (English)	We are 1st Grade 80		34	34	68	68	102	102	136	136	
Independent activity	60	68	68	68	68	68	136	136	136	204	
Special Activity	30	34	34	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	8 units
Annual Class time	830	850	986	986	1088	1088	1156	1156	1156	1156	144 units

(in *Education in Korea 2005-2006*, Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, Republic of Korea, p.43, or http://www.moe.go.kr)

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[54] The number of units in this table are periods of instruction per year. In the case of primary level, each period lasts 40 minutes. In the case of secondary level, each period lasts 45 minutes and 50 minutes for middle schools and for high schools respectively.

Appendix D.

An excerpt of transcription of classroom observation and a summary of its findings

- High School P Year 3 (seventeen and eighteen year- old students) Korean History (June 28, 2003, 9.40 – 10.30 am)

This classroom observation was conducted in order to get a 'live' picture of the history classroom in South Korea: To what extent do teachers rely on textbooks?'; In what ways do the teacher-student interactions occur? Although framed around a range of issues, this observation is 'un-structured', in that the classroom activities were observed and recorded before deciding on their significance for the research. This 50 minute observation is conducted with the researcher as a complete observer: the whole class is audio-taped by the researcher at the far-side of the classroom, without interaction between her and the students. The intention here is to examine the questions: 'what appear to be the significant issues that are being discussed?'; how are the individual elements of the events connected?'; what meanings are participants attributing to what is happening?' (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993: 199-200, quoted in Cohen, et al., 2000: 312). Bearing these in mind, some excerpts from transcriptions will be quoted, followed by a brief discussion of the characteristics of the lesson and its implications.

This history class mainly considers the cause of the Korean War based on the unit of the origin of the Korean War in the Korean Modern History textbook. However, the teacher organised the lesson centred upon current issues about conflicts between North and South Korea as well as those between North Korea, Japan, and the U.S. For that reason, the introductory section of the lesson was allocated to watching contemporary news clips on the internet, which featured anti-American demonstrations by family members who had lost their loved ones in the Nogun-Ri massacre by the US army during the Korean War. Live-footage of the demonstrations was intercut with archive photographs of other evidence of civilian victims of air-raids during the war. This was followed by a right-wing newspaper's extensive coverage on an anti-North Korean demonstration organised by the Korean War veterans (25th June, 2003, 'Jo-Sun Daily [Jo-Sun Il-Bo]' and a left-wing newspaper's critical comments on the opening of the War Memorial (23rd. June, 2003, 'One-Nation [Han-Kyeo-Re]').

Teacher: (pointing the spot on the map, which shows the places where massacres happened) Where do you think it is?

Student: Na-Joo! Na-Joo!

Student: (referring to the soldiers in the photos) Are they Japanese?

Student: (examining the army uniform) I bet they were Koreans.

Student: (responding to the teacher's question) It looks like Je-Joo Island.

Student: (taking a turn) April the 3rd Massacre [in Je-Joo Island]!

Student: (puzzled) What are these photos about? The Korean War?

Student: I wonder where on earth this happened. Which massacre?

Student: Kwang-Joo massacre [in 1980]?

Student: How come these photos exist?

Teacher: The U.S. Army photographed it.

Student: Why did they do it?

Teacher: They took the photographs as a record.

Overall, this lesson was 'teacher-centred', in that it took the form of question and answer work with whole class. However, there was also room for student to pursue their enquiry, though in a limited way. As seen above, the teacher let students make sense of the sources, allowing them to locate the event in a specific time and place in history. Some of students' responses reflect their factual knowledge from the previous lesson: brutally crushed Communist uprisings in the South Korea between 1948 and 1949. Other events referred to by students either stretched back to the Japanese colonial period in the 1910s, or stretched into the 1980s Kwang-Joo Democratisation Movement, which was put an end to by military regime in South Korea. This kind of navigation in time proceeded to examining contemporary events such as an anti-nuclear demonstration against North Korea, via an analysis of contrasting views expressed by different newspaper articles.

Teacher: (clicking on the newspaper article): what you see here are some newspaper articles, which are related to the way the Korean War is featured in the present. The title of this article is '6.25 [the day the Korean War broke out] anti-nuclear weapon, anti-Kim [the leader of the North Korea] pro-America national rally'. Eleven thousand people gathered in the front of city hall in Seoul.

Students: Wow!

Teacher (reading an article from 'Jo-Sun Daily' [right-wing newspaper]): The chairman of the Korean War veteran association said, 'The younger generation tend to have illusions about the North Korean regime, underestimating the threat it presents us.' And, the chairman of the association of Korean primary and secondary head teachers suggested, 'Worryingly, some teachers of the member of National Union of Teachers provide biased education to innocent students, actively promoting anti-regime ideology to them.'

Teacher: (shifting to another article from left-wing newspaper): Let me read an article on 23rd June in 'Han-Kyeo-Re' newspaper. The line of 'Han-Kyeo-Re' is contrasting to the one of 'Jo-Sun Daily.' This article is criticizing the newly opened War Memorial, by saying that 'such a display of weapons and interactive activities using simulation video games of battle scenes plays the role of maintaining a Cold War atmosphere, unwittingly promoting the idea of war amongst adolescents. The focus of the story is on victory, ignoring the suffering of civilian victims. What should we celebrate? War or Peace? Isn't it better to change the name into Peace Memorial?'

Teacher: We just glanced at a range of views on the Korean War and its legacy. Let's move on the written sources about the origin and development of the Korean War. Look at page 5 in the hand-outs.

Students: Yup!

The contrasting views on the legacy of the Korean War were introduced by the teacher in an attempt to show the impact of the past on the present. The focus of each article was simply summarised by the teacher, without giving students an opportunity to make sense of the difference between two newspapers and its implications. This was followed by a source-based enquiry:

Teacher: Seong-Hwan! Can you read Source A for us?

Seong-Hwan: (reading the source) 'Kim Il-Seong and Park Hyeon-Young [the leaders of the North Korea] appear to believe that peaceful unification of two Koreas is out of the question. They think that the people in the both North and South would support the attack of the North Korean army on the South. In their view, postponing military action would perpetuate the division of Korea, giving an opportunity to the South to crush left-wing activists within their territory. Not only that. The South would earn time to build up their own army to invade the North.

Teacher: This was written by a Russian ambassador…in which country?

Students: North Korea!

Students: South Korea!

Teacher: He was posted in North Korea. This report was written for Stalin in September 15th in 1949, (raising his voice) in 1949 [one year before the Korean War broke out]. Considering this, write down the possible cause of the war beneath the source.

(Students fill in blank on handouts)

Teacher: Dong-Geun! Tell me what you wrote.

Dong-Geun: Before the force in South Korea became strong enough…

Students: Attack it!

Teacher: Right. As Dong-Geun said, as time went on, the South would be powerful enough to defend itself or counter-attack the North? Any other view?

Student A: Well, the force of Communist guerilla fighters in the South was declining at that time…

Teacher: Right

Student B: Not only that!

Teacher: Tell me.

Student B: When the Nationalist army in China was defeated by the Communists, the U.S. did not help them out.

Teacher: Good point!

Student B: Non-intervention of the U.S. in China might be one of the factors that encouraged the North [to invade the South].

Student C: Kim Il-Seong's ambition also worked!

Teacher: Let's turn to the first line of the source. It says that the North Korean leaders do not consider the option of peaceful unification. Why did they come to that conclusion?

Student D: Because the Communist movement in the South was crippled by the right-wing terrorists in the South.

Teacher: You mean, the left-wing activists in the South were not acknowledged as a legitimate party by the newly established Republic of Korea?

Student D: Sure, they [the leaders of the North] felt threatened.

Students: (encouragingly) Wow!

Student D: The report was written in 1949. It was in that year that the operation of anti-Communists guerilla fighters in the South reached a climax. Once the North have lost the force, it would be hard to get support from within South Korea. That's what they [North Korean leaders] thought.

Teacher: Right. Any other idea?

The question-answer work centered on making inferences from Source A: identifying the author and background; reasoning possible causes of the Korean War from the source, focusing on the historical actor (here, Kim Il-Seong)'s intention. Students' responses were based either on reasoning from the given source or on recollection from the previous lesson. In particular, student D was confident in identifying reasons for the historical actor's decision, drawing knowledge about the rise and fall of partisan activities in the South from the previous lesson. In student B's case, his reasoning did not involve analysis of the source in question: rather, his reply was based on his understanding of the US's post-World War foreign policy.

(noise)

Student E: Kim Il-Seong did not like the idea of unification without war.

Teacher: Look at the source again. There is no mention that he was personally against the idea.

Student E: The point I'm trying to make is that he assumed the support from the people in the South once the war broke out.

Students: (booing)

Student F: Textbook does not say that!

Teacher: Well, Kim Il-Seong took into account the sheer degree of the operation in the South, coming to the conclusion that the left-wing movement in the South would soon be devastated soon. Any other view to share?

Student G: In order to prevent Rhee Seung-Man [the first president of South Korea] from seizing power.

Teacher: (puzzled) He had already been elected as president in 1948.

Student G: In order to get rid of him before he enforced the pro-America policy.

Teacher: Well…there are some confusions about historical facts, here.

Student H: (jokingly) Then, let's refer to the textbook. That's what we're supposed to do when something is not clear.

(big laughs)

Student I: (murmuring, unconvinced) That's not always the case.

As seen above, it is the teacher who manages 'stability', through approving or disapproving of students' responses. However, although perceiving the teacher as an 'authority' that initiated and closed the discussion, students also played an important role in changing and shifting the flow of conversation. For instance, the teacher's attempt to focus on analysis of the source was rather hampered by students E and G's comments that were beyond the scope of the source in question. It is also interesting to note that the way the rest of students reacted to the destabilisation of the line of analysis, referring to the textbook as an authoritative account in an attempt to restore 'stability'. At first glance, students appeared to rely on the textbook as a final resource: students booed student E's rather dissident view, and student H based his criticism on the authority of the textbook. However, it is student H's mockery of the role of textbook in history lessons that provoked laughter amongst students. In other words, students seemed to consider the history textbook as a body of information of the past, which is useful to be getting at the 'right' answer in the context of the school examination. On the other hand, students were also aware of the fact that there were other versions of the story outside school history. In student I's case, denying the orthodox status of the textbook was more explicit than the rest of students, taking student H's comment too seriously.

Teacher: Alright. Open your textbook!

Teacher: Anyone who forgot to bring it? Come forward and stand next to the board.

(two students stand next to the board)

Teacher: (noticing the students, who are standing with empty-hands) Why didn't you take the hand-out? Go back to your desk and pick it up, please. (turning to the class) Open the page 196!

Teacher: As you can see at the bottom of page 196, on April the 3rd an uprising broke out in Je-Joo Island in 1948. They protested against the idea of establishing the South only government. However, the May 10th general election was carried out. Turn to page 197, the second paragraph. On 19th October, there were more uprisings organized by Communists in Yeo-Soo and Soon-Cheon regions. On the other hand, there were anti-Communist protests, too. Where could they possibly happen?

Students: In the North!

Teacher: That's correct. Look at the map and captions beneath. Most anti-Communist protests in the North took place either in 1945 or in 1946. How about in 1948 or in 1949? Nothing! Which means the anti-Communist movement in the North was completely wiped out. What about in the South?

Students: Not quite…

Teacher: More than that. The Communist partisan movement peaked in 1948 and 1949. Let's consider the fact that the USSR army left the North in late 1948. The US army also withdrew its force in early 1949. What would you make of this?

(silence)

Teacher: (raising his voice): Only two Korean armies were facing to each other without the back-up of Super Powers…

Students: Total War!

Teacher: Let's get back to the Source A. What made Kim Il-Seong think that it was the right time to pursue unification with force? In the previous lesson, we already examined the conflicts between the left and the right after liberation from Japanese colonial rule. People got different ideas about ideal state for young nation. For instance, some nationalists like Kim Goo were against the 'divide-and-rule' policy of the US and USSR, keeping the faith in the possibility of building one nation despite ideological division. That's why he stood firm against the line of Rhee Seung-Man's policy, which pursued the establishment of a right-wing government in the South as soon as possible. But, in the end, 'Two Koreas' were created, one in the South in 1948, and the other in the North in 1949. Each regime did not acknowledge the other as…

Students: Legitimate government!

Teacher: That's right! Since each regime pursued a different ideology, both the North and the South attempted to get rid of the other Korea. In the case of the South, Rhee Seung-Man's slogan was 'Book-Beol-Tong-Il' [unification through seizure of the North]. Kim Il-Seong also had one, 'Kook-To-Wan-Jeong' [complete conquer of the Korean Peninsula].

Teacher: (writing the slogans on the board) Both of them think there must be one nation, one regime. In the case of Kim Il-Seong, the ideal regime was Communist government. In Rhee Seung-Man's case?

Students: Democracy!

Students: Capitalism!

Teacher: What he pursued was forming Capitalist regime in Korea. Having said that, it's safe to say that neither the North nor the South pondered the possibility of co-existence at that time. Of course, there was a dissident voice. Who believed that co-existence was possible?

Students: Kim Goo!

Teacher: That's right. What would you call his ideology?

Students: Nationalism!

In this teacher's case, the textbook is used simply as one of several teaching aids, which provides relevant information and visual illustration such as maps and graphs. In fact, his focus lay in pursuing the theme suggested in Source A, setting the Korean War against a broad picture of ideological conflicts, which had exploded shortly after the withdrawal of colonial power from the Korean peninsula. In his view, the Korean War is the culmination of disputes over the ideal of nation building, which ended up creating two Koreas: the Communist North and the Capitalist South. As was the case with students in the main study, it is frequently noted that some students equated Capitalism with democracy, especially in the context of comparing two regimes in the Korean peninsula. This confusion seemed to be reinforced by emphasis on the oppressive characteristics of North Korean society illustrated in the social studies textbooks. In this teacher's case, there was no attempt to align himself with one particular line: if any, it was nationalism in that he suggested as an alternative nation-building project. In the following, the teacher directed students' attention to the

newspaper article presented at the beginning of the lesson, aiming to make an analogy between the past and the present.

Teacher: To re-cap, Kim Goo believed that co-existence of two Koreas would be possible on the basis of nationalism, neither Communism nor Capitalism. (pointing to what he wrote on the board: 'Book-Beol-Tong-Il' and 'Kook-To-Wan-Jeong) In sharp contrast, neither Kim Il-Seong nor Rhee Seung-Man thought that way. Let's get back to the newspaper [Jo-Seun Daily] article. The chairman of the association of the Korean War veteran warned that the North is plotting the second 6.25. According to him, the current situation in the Korean peninsula is more dangerous than 1950s. Why?
Students: The threat from the North!
Teacher: And, within us?
Student: (jokingly) The North Korean spy!
Teacher: Let's look back the period between 1945 and 1948. Any left-wing movement was illegalised in the South. How about now?
Students: Still illegal.
Teacher: There was another occasion. On the anti-nuclear rally, anti-Kim Jeong-Il [the North Korean leader] rally, Professor Kim Dong-Gil said that he never called Kim Dae-Joong [the former president in South Korea] and No Moo-Hyun [the current South Korean leader] president. Why?
Students: Because he couldn't bear acknowledging them!
Teacher: Correct! He couldn't agree with their 'Sunshine policy' towards the North. The policy acknowledges…
Students: The North!
Teacher: Right. What he couldn't bear was acknowledging the North as legitimate regime. If so, what is remaining option?
Students: War against the North!

[…]

Teacher: This logic was at work fifty years ago. This can be applied not only to right-wing in the South but also to the North Korean regime. Kim Jeong-il is an evil-like figure in the North.
Students: (surprised) Huh!

The use of a right-wing newspaper article in the present is aimed at encouraging students to reconstruct the division and mistrust between the opposing ideologies in 1940s Korea. In other words, a failure to acknowledge legitimacy of the opposite, which manifests itself in the present, was attributed as one of the main causes of the Korean War. This line of argument was pursued by expanding the scope of enquiry into international politics in the East Asian region.

Teacher: Especially in Japan, it's easy to come across a range of books about the danger Kim Jeong Il regime presents to East-Asian region. You can find a section in the bookshop, entirely devoted to Kim Jeong-Il.
Student: How could they be so sure about that [Kim Jeong-Il's mind]?
Teacher: It has to do with their concern with the possibility of the attack from the North. They strongly believe that the North is capable of employing nuclear weapons, targeting Tokyo.
Students: (unconvinced) It can't be…

[…]

Teacher: 'Anti-Nuclear weapon, anti-Kim Jeong-Il'. That's the logic of right-wingers in either Japan or South Korea. What do they fear?
Students: Attack from the North Korea!

Teacher: That's right! They perceive the North as a real threat. That's why they tried to alert people, even raising the war on the North. What about the U.S.?
Students: […]
Teacher: The U.S. president Bush mentioned the axis of evil, which is Iran-Iraq-North Korea. What he meant by this is negotiation is not possible with these three countries. To put it differently, Kim Jeong-Il's regime must be demolished just like Sadam Hussein's Iraq as the North Korea has weapons of mass destruction.
Teacher: Having said that, what logic is at work when the war breaks out?
Student: Peace!
Teacher: (puzzled) What I asked was, why do people attack others?
Student: Self-defence!
Student: The differences in opinions!

Teacher: (pointing to one student) What do you think, Jae-Cheon?

Jae-Cheon: Well, attack is the best defence, otherwise we all are dead.

Teacher: Nothing is certain, yet. The attack has not happened yet. It's anxiety that makes people wage the war. Do you remember what Source A said about Kim Il-Seong's inner thoughts? It was his fear that made him opt for the war, like, 'What if the South Korean regime becomes stabilised enough to fight back against us, with help of the U.S. and Japan?,' 'What should we do if the South becomes strong enough to attack us?'…

Students: Fight! Fight!

Teacher: Right. It is fear that makes people think war is their only option.

What concerned students most was the possibility of the war, even though the teacher presented it as a hypothetical situation. As seen above, the key words such as 'fear' and 'anxiety' were repeated through the teacher's explanation of the perception of North Korea by Japan and the U.S. In his view, the teacher's role does not lie in providing a judgement about current world affairs. Rather, his intention here was helping students to form a kind of generalization about the conditions for war.

Seong-Woo: What if North Korea is desperate, feeling nothing left to lose? What if they just use the nuclear weapon against us? It's just the end for all of us, full stop!

(dead silence)

Teacher: The point is whether Kim Jeong-Il is reasonable enough to make a decision about starting the war. Is he a psychopath or not? As Seong-Woo points out, in his despair…

Student: Or, because he doesn't want to bother to think?

Student: We all are dead meat.

Teacher: Well, let's put the matter of whether Kim Jeong-Il is insane or not aside. What matters is the fear amongst the neighboring countries like Japan or the U.S. Interestingly, 65% of people in the South do not think that the war is any real possibility.

Student: What's the percentage of people who think that the war is going to break out?

Student: (showing a doubt) Is it really going to happen?

As seen above, despite the teacher's attempt to re-focus on the origin of the Korean War in 1950s, students engaged in speculation about the prospect of war with boyish enthusiasm. Taking students' interest in current issues into account, the teacher introduced another contrasting view on current affairs, using it as an analogy to the period of uncertainty and opportunity, crowded with ideological dissent aftermath liberation from Japan.

Teacher: 70% of people in Japan think that North Korea is waging a war with nuclear weapons. In contrast, as I said before, 65% of people in the South think it is not the case.
Student: Why don't we send those people to the North!
Teacher: Well, that's what the organizers of anti-Kim Jeong-Il demonstrations thought. Why did people in the South become so ignorant of the real threat from the North?
Min-Kyu: 6.15 agreement [between the North and the South]!
Teacher: Right. Things have changed. Thanks to the 'Sunshine Policy', there is a package-tour for South Korean people around mountain Keum-Kang in the North. Several times, the two governments organized re-unions for people who left their family on either side during the Korean War, allowing them to meet their long-lost family. Without realizing that, tension amongst people in the South is…
Students: Decreased!
Teacher: That's why there is a controversy about policy towards North Korea, especially, about the line of No Moo-Hyun regime's policy.

[…]

Teacher: It is not easy to resolve these kinds of conflicts. Why is it that difficult?
Students: […]
Teacher: For example, people who gathered for the anti-Kim Jeong-Il rally would support the line of the 'Sunshine Policy'?
Students: No way!
Teacher: How about this? People who participated in the anti-U.S. demonstration would suddenly turn into pro-Americans?
Students: Of course not!
Teacher: To put it simply, the ideological opposition would
Students: (take a turn) Not be resolved in one night.

Teacher: That's right. Remember? In the previous lesson, we looked at the ideological conflicts between the left and the right just after liberation from Japan. The Korean War was a continuation or culmination of that antagonism.

Kye-Jin: (suddenly intervening) We should send pro-Sunshine policy people to North Korea.

Teacher: (to the whole class) What do you make of what Kye-Jin said?

Students: (excited) Let's send Kye-Jin to the North!

Teacher: Well, well, the point is that hostility between the two Koreas or dissident voices within the South do still exist. Let's get back to the hand-outs. As you can see, the background of the division of Korea and the origin of the Korean War are all there.

[…]

Throughout the whole class question and answer work, conflicting views on the government policy towards the North in the present were compared with competing solutions to nation-building project, which led to the tragic war and reinforcement of division of Korea. Curiously, given the teacher's critical approaches to extreme right wing views on North Korea, Kye-Jin's objection to rapprochement with the North is rather extreme. Students' reaction to Kye-Jin's ultra right wing opinion shows that he was perceived as an 'eccentric' minority in the classroom: the follow-up interview with the teacher also confirmed this. The closure of discussion was rather abrupt in that students were hurriedly asked to refer to the hand-outs for further details of the unfolding of the Korean War.

The rest of the lesson was devoted to a discussion of students' own decision making in wartime situation. Given the limits of time and space, it is not discussed here. The form of the whole class question and answer work was maintained, and the interactions between teacher and students, or between students, remained vibrant until the end. In the following, significant issues raised by the teacher and presentation of those topics during the lesson will be summarised, bearing in mind its implication for the main study.

Most of all, this classroom observation did not form the part of the main data collection. It was 'added' in an attempt to glimpse what emerges from classroom settings rather than in the context of interviews with the researcher: 'compared with more structured methods […]

observation has the flexibility to yield insight into new realities or new ways of looking at old realities' (Kidder, 1981, quoted in Adler and Adler, 1998: 89). Of course, it is misleading to claim that this observation functioned as 'an alternate source of data for enhancing cross checking or triangulation' (Adler and Adler, 1998: 90) since it was not part of the research design. At least, however, this history lesson reflects a tension between two different pedagogies. For example, on the one hand, an emphasis was put on learning factual knowledge through direct instruction. On the other hand, students were given an opportunity to use primary sources to make an enquiry of the topic. In these respects, this lesson began to show a sign of a transition from 'traditional' teaching to enquiry-based learning. It is safe to say that this Korean history lesson observation helped the researcher to make sense of the context of teaching and learning history in South Korea (for context of the main study, see Chapter 3).

First, it is observed that the history textbook was used as one of the resources, alongside other support materials such as teacher-produced hand-outs and newspaper articles and photographs archived on the internet. Given the prescriptive National Curriculum and the stress on coverage rather than in-depth study, this history lesson can be seen as 'exceptional'. As is the case with history education in Japan, the pressure and inflexibility of centralised examination structure tends to hamper teachers' attempts to go beyond 'institutionalized constraints upon them (in particular the pressure of high-stakes public examinations that test factual recall)' (Cave, 2005: 312). Follow-up interviews with the teacher revealed that not all the units could be taught by using various sources, due to the pressure for coverage. It is not only prescriptive curriculum but also students' assumptions about history lesson that made the teacher compromise his teaching practice. For instance, students in this lesson tended to endow the textbook with a right to say a 'final word', even though the teacher attempted to ask students to challenge its orthodox status.

Second, this lesson can be seen as an 'alternative' approach to history teaching in that its organisation reflects the teacher's attempt to enable students to engage with source enquiry. Even though analysis of sources was largely relied upon the teacher's explanation, students began to involve themselves with interpreting historical actors' intentions and their context. Interestingly, in this lesson, historical concepts such as cause and effect were fleshed out by

comparing ideological conflicts between the past and the present. According to the teacher, one of the purposes of history teaching lies in understanding the present, which is shaped by the past. Considering his aim of learning history, it is not surprising that greater emphasis was given on continuity of antagonism between two Koreas, and more importantly, frictions within South Korea.

Third, the teacher's line of argument had a strong presence in the lesson. On the surface, he can be seen as a 'progressive' or 'radical' teacher in that he is an active member of 'National Union of Teachers', which frequently provokes right-wing accusations of promoting pro-North Korean ideology amongst adolescents. However, throughout the lesson, he did not align himself with either anti- or pro-North Korean factions. Rather, his line of explanation assigned the deep-rooted cause of the Korean War to the failed project of 'one' nation building: 'the third way' espoused by centre-left nationalists in the aftermath of independence from Japan. In particular, the theme of re-unification emerged as a unifying topic throughout discussion between the teacher and students. This can be attributed to the fact that the sheer scale of anticommunist/anti-North Korea stance in South Korea has been significantly diminished. As Wilson et al. (2005: 247-248) points out, 'the fact that students are increasingly not only being told of diplomatic contacts between the North and South but also being presented with a basic plan for unification illustrates the growing confidence of South Korea.'

Finally, it is worth noting that the teaching position in this lesson can be considered as 'moralizing' or 'socializing' agency. To be more specific, historical concepts such as cause and effect were emphasised as tools for raising historical awareness of the importance of acknowledging 'others'. Of course, unlike 'traditional' approaches to teaching history based on 'a broad but shallow exposition of positivistic knowledge' (Cave, 2005: 327), this lesson encouraged students to engage with source-based enquiry through in-depth study, aiming at fostering critical stance towards the 'received' view. Given the fact that the dominant lesson format of the history classroom in South Korea takes a form of teacher exposition of 'dry' facts, this lesson often deviated from the dominant conceptualisation of history education in South Korea. However, the way a 'counter' story, which was beyond the scope of the

textbook, was presented in this lesson can be seen as 'orthodox' in that students did not have an opportunity to reflect on how they reached their own conclusion.

Appendix E. The interview protocol and materials for the pilot study

Film segments

• ***Reds***

Segment 1 for the pilot study: Old narrators' recollections about American radicals from 1915 to the 1920s
Scene 1: Old narrators talk about John (aka Jack) Reed and Louise Bryant
Scene 2: A recollection about the radicals in America in the mid-1910s in New York.

Segment 2 (for the main study, Segment 1): Jack and Louise witness the situation in Russia under the Provisional Government
Scene 1: Jack persuades Louise to go to Petrograd with him
Scene 2: The train journey to Petrograd (the Russian border: Jack and Louise's encounter with wounded soldiers from the front)
Scene 3: Arriving at Petrograd (Jack and Louise witness a long queue for bread in Petrograd)
Scene 4: Reporting the political situation in Russia
Scene 5: Jack's speech at a workers' meeting at a factory building

Segment 3 for the pilot study (for the main study, Segment 2): Jack's disillusionment with the Bolsheviks' rule
Scene 1: Jack's disappointment with Bolshevik leaders after meeting them – Jack watching the Red Army marching past his window
Scene 2: Jack's argument with Emma over the situation in Russia: aftermath of the October Revolution

• ***October***

Segment 1 for the pilot study: The February Revolution
Scene 1: Toppling of the statue of Alexander III
Scene 2: Fraternisation – an expectation of ending the war
Scene 3: The Provisional Government's decision to carry on the war

Segment 2 for the pilot study (for the main study, Segment 1): The fortnight of the October Revolution
Scene 1: Soldiers at the front (a shot of exhausted soldiers in a trench)
Scene 2: Deterioration of people's life (a close up of ragged women's bare feet in the queue for rations)
Scene 3: Lenin's arrival at the Finland Station

Segment 3 for the pilot study (for the main study, Segment 2): The Bolsheviks seize power
Scene 1: Preparations for overthrowing the Provisional Government
Scene 2: Storming the Winter Palace
Scene 3: The declaration of the Proletarian Socialist state (pilot only)

Source R-1

[the Revolution was] an attempt to improve life, which initially had worthwhile goals - freedom, equality, fraternity, but the result is a result that we have [...] October was a struggle for equal rights, which then turned into a new form of inequality.

– An excerpt from an interview with a 55-year-old woman working in finance in Moscow during the year 1992 and 1993, J. Wertsch and M. Rozin (1998) 'The Russian Revolution: Official and Unofficial Accounts' in J. Voss and M. Carretero, (eds.), *Learning and Reasoning in History: International Review of History Education Vol.2*, London: Woburn Press.

Source R-2

What failed in the USSR was not Communism at all - and if it failed (which it obviously did) it was not because it betrayed the people. Communism, with its aspiration to truer democracy, is as susceptible to perversion as other visions. But it will remain with us because it also embodies some of our highest ideals.

– C. Jacobson (1998) 'So What Did Collapse in 1991?', in M. Cox (ed.), *Rethinking the Soviet Collapse: Sovietology, the Death of Communism and the New Russia*, London and New York: Pinter.

Interview protocol

1. (After viewing Segment 1 from each film) Is there any difference between the two films? (pilot study only)
 - If the answer is 'No', what is the same? And how is this possible?
 - If the answer is 'Yes', how do they differ? And how are such differences possible?

2. (After viewing Segment 2 from each film)
(a) Is there any difference between the two films?
 - If the answer is 'No', what is the same? And how is this possible?
 - If the answer is 'Yes', how do they differ? And how are such differences possible?
(b) Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened? Tell me why.

3. (After providing Segment 3 from each film, photographs and written sources)
(a) If the directors had experienced the collapse of the USSR like the Russian citizen in Source 1 and the historian in Source 2, would they have made the films in a different way?
 - If the answer is 'No', then why not?
 - If the answer is 'Yes', then in what ways?
(b) If the directors had chosen to shoot the film differently, what might have affected their decisions?

Appendix F.
The interview protocol and materials for the main study

• Film segments (for the Russian Revolution task, see Appendix E.)

The Holocaust task

Schindler's List

Segment 1: Deportation of the Jews – Oskar Schindler rescues his accountant, Itzhak Stern, from a deportation train
Scene 1: Train station (a departure for the concentration camp; Oskar Schindler checks every carriage, looking for Itzhak Stan)
Scene 2: Warehouse (piles of confiscated luggage, shoes, glasses, photos, watches, golden teeth)

Segment 2: Women in Auschwitz – Schindler's female workers have been mistakenly deported to Auschwitz
Scene 1: Women on the deportation train
Women pushed into a train while being deported to Treblinka
Scene 2: Auschwitz
The train, loaded with the women and children, stops at Auschwitz concentration camp
Scene 3: Deported women get through near-death experience
Women getting hair cut, undressing, thrown into a dark room, where they are sprayed with water
Scene 4: Schindler rescues women and children
Scene 5: Re-union of the families (Brinnlitz Munitions factory)

Segment 3: The liquidation of the ghetto
Scene 1: Amon Goeth's speech (Plaszow)
Amon Goeth talks to the soldiers about how the Jews have flourished over the years and that by nightfall their hard work will be forgotten.
Scene 2: The evacuation of the ghetto
A little girl with a red coat: Schindler watches as the girl slowly wanders away, unnoticed by the SS
Scene 3: A night search through hide-outs

Shoah

Segment 1: A Polish train driver's recollection of the deportation of the Jews
Scene 1: A train arrives at the Treblinka station
Scene 2: An interview with Henrik Gawkowski, a Polish train driver, who drove the Jewish deportees' carriages from Warsaw to the Treblinka station

Segment 2: A Jewish survivor's account of gassing in Auschwitz

Scene 1: An interview with Filip Müller, a Jewish 'special work detail', who worked at Auschwitz gas chambers.

Segment 3: An account of running the Warsaw ghetto (Germany)

Scene 1: An interview with Dr. Franz Grassier (Germany), deputy to Dr. Auerwald, Nazi commissioner of the Warsaw ghetto

Source H-1

Both my father and mother were survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto and the Nazi concentration camps. […] I do not remember the Nazi Holocaust ever intruding on my childhood. […] I sometimes think that American Jewry "discovering" the Nazi Holocaust was worse than its having forgotten. True, my parents brooded in private; the suffering they endured was not publicly validated. But wasn't it better than the current crass exploitation of Jewish martyrdom? […] it has been used to justify criminal policies of the Israeli state and US support for these policies.[…] In the face of the sufferings of African-Americans, Vietnamese and Palestinians, my mother's credo was: "We are all holocaust victims". […] And isn't the normal history of humankind replete with horrifying chapters of inhumanity?

– Norman Finkelstein, 'The Business of Death', in *Guardian*, 12th. July. 2000

Source H-2

If you refuse to share the earth with other races […] Whites, you have pity for the fate of white. Europeans, you inflate a family quarrel into a world war and crime without limitation. […] you elevate the Jews – that is, your own – to the dignity of a condemned race or of chosen martyrs, in order to make people forget, by your one-time ordeal, the cruelties that you have never ceased to inflict upon the races of the south […] echoed and amplified by the huge force of the media at your disposal […] in spite of all your efforts, the manipulation has failed […] it is humanity itself that bursts out laughing, and which says that *your* disaster is not *its* business (Finkielkraut's italics)

– Vergès's defence for Klaus Barbie, quoted in Alan Finkielkraut (2000), 'Remembering in Vain: the Klaus Barbie Trial and Crimes against Humanity', in Omer Bartov (ed.), *The Holocaust: Origins, Implementation, Aftermath*, London and New York: Routledge, pp.273-301.

Interview protocols

The Russian Revolution task

1. (After viewing Segment 1 from each film)

(a) Is there any difference between the two films?

- If the answer is 'No', what is the same? And how is this possible?
- If the answer is 'Yes', how do they differ? And how are such differences possible?

(b) Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened? Tell me why.

(c) How is it that we have different historical accounts? Is it possible to decide which story is a better representation of a past event? If so, how would you decide?

2. (After showing Segment 2 from each film, photographs and written sources)

(a) Is there any difference between two sources?; 'Which source is better for making sense

of the Russian Revolution?
(b) If the directors had experienced the collapse of the USSR like the Russian citizen in Source 1 and the historian in Source 2, would they have made the films in a different way?
- If the answer is 'No', then why not?
- If the answer is 'Yes', then in what ways?
(c) If the directors had chosen to shoot the film differently, what might have affected their decisions?

The Holocaust task

1. (After viewing Segment 1 from each film)
(a) Is there any difference between the two films?
(a)-1. Which film clip is more real?
(b) Which film clip better helps you to really appreciate what happened?

2. (After viewing Segment 2 from each film)
(a) Is there any difference between the two films?
- If the answer is 'No', what is the same? And how is this possible?
- If the answer is 'Yes', how do they differ? And how are such differences possible?
(b) How is it that we have different historical accounts? Is it possible to decide which story is a better representation of a past event? If so, how would you decide?

3. (After providing Segment 3 from each film, photographs and written sources)
(a) Which image of the Nazi officer is more convincing?
- Tell me why.
(b) To what extent do you agree with written sources 1 and 2?
(c) If the directors had confronted criticism like these written sources [1 and 2], would they have made the films in a different way?
- If the answer is 'No', then why not?
- If the answer is 'Yes', then in what ways?

Appendix G.
Film script

Shoah [55]

Segment 1: A Polish train driver's recollection of the deportation of the Jews

Scene 1: A train arrives at the Treblinka station

- A former train driver looks out from the train.

Scene 2:
An interview with Henrik Gawkowski (Malkinia), a Polish train driver, who drove the Jewish deportees' carriages from Warsaw or Bialystok to the Treblinka station as well as from the Treblinka station to the concentration camp

Lanzmann: Did he hear screams behind his locomotive?

Interpreter (translating Gawkowski's reply to Lanzmann): Obviously, since the locomotive was next to the cars. They screamed for water. The screams from the cars closest to the locomotive could be heard very well.

Lanzmann: Can one get used to that?

Interpreter: No. It was extremely distressing to him. He knew the people behind him were human, like him. The Germans gave him and the other workers vodka to drink. Without drinking, they couldn't have done it. There was a bonus – that they were paid not in money, but in liquor. Those who worked on other trains didn't get this bonus. He drank every drop he got because without liquor he couldn't stand the stench when he got here. They even bought more liquor on their own, to get drunk on (p.32).[56]

Segment 2: A Jewish survivor's account of gassing in Auschwitz

Scene 1: An interview with Filip Müller, a Jewish 'special work detail', who worked at Auschwitz gas chambers.

Filip Müller: You see, once the gas was poured in, it worked like this: it rose from the ground upwards. And in the terrible struggle that followed – because it was a struggle – the lights were switched off in the gas chambers. It was dark, no one could see, so the strongest people tried to climb higher. Because they probably realised that the higher they got, the

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[55] This film script is an extract from *Shoah: An Oral History of the Holocaust: The Complete Text of the Film*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1985

[56] In the following script, the number within a round bracket denotes the page number in the original text.

more air there was. They could breathe better. That caused the struggle. Secondly, most people tried to push their way to the door. It was psychological: they knew where the door was; maybe they could force their way out. It was instinctive, a death struggle. Which is why children and weaker people, and the aged, always wound up at the bottom. The strongest were on top. Because in the death struggle, a father didn't realise his son lay beneath him (p.125).

Segment 3: An account of running the Warsaw ghetto (Germany)

Scene 1: An interview with Dr. Franz Grassler, deputy to Dr. Auerswald, Nazi commissioner of the Warsaw ghetto

Lanzmann: Did you think this idea of ghetto was a good one? A sort of self-management?
Grassler: That's right.
Lanzmann: A mini-state?
Grassler: It worked well.
Lanzmann: But it was self-management for death, wasn't it?
Grassler: We know that now. But at the time…
Lanzmann: Even then!
Grassler: No!
Lanzmann: Czerniakow [a president of the Judenrat (Jewish Council) of Warsaw] wrote, 'We're puppets, we have no power.'
Grassler: Yes.
Lanzmann: 'No power'.
Grassler: Sure…that was… (p.190)
Lanzmann: You Germans were the overlords.
Grassler: Yes.
Lanzmann: The overlords. The masters.
Grassler: Obviously.
Lanzmann: Czerniakow was merely a tool.
Grassler: Yes, but a good tool. Jewish self-management worked well, I can tell you.
Lanzmann: It worked well for three years, 1941, 1942, 1943…two and a half years. And in the end…
Grassler: In the end…
Lanzmann: 'Worked well' for what? To what end?
Grassler: For self-preservation.
Lanzmann: No! For death!
Grassler: Yes, but…
Lanzmann: Self-management, self-preservation…for death!
Grassler: That's easy to say now.
Lanzmann: You admitted the conditions were inhuman. Atrocious…horrible!
Grassler: Yes. (p.191)
Lanzmann: So it was clear even then…
Grassler: No! Extermination wasn't clear. Now we see the result.
Lanzmann: Extermination isn't so simple. One step was taken, then another, and another, and another…
Grassler: Yes.
Lanzmann: But to understand the process, one must…

Grassler: I repeat, extermination did not take place in the ghetto, not at first. Only with the evacuations.
Lanzmann: Evacuations?
Grassler: The evacuations to Treblinka. The ghetto could have been wiped out with weapons, as was finally done after the rebellion. After I'd left. But at the start…Mr. Lanzmann, this is getting us nowhere. We're reaching no new conclusions.
Lanzmann: I don't think we can.
Grassler: I didn't know what I know now.
Lanzmann: You weren't a nonentity.
Grassler: But I was!
Lanzmann: You were important.
Grassler: You overestimate my role.
Lanzmann: No. You were second to the commissioner of the Warsaw 'Jewish district'. (p.192)
Grassler: But I had no power.
Lanzmann: It was something.
Grassler: […]
Lanzmann: You were part of the vast German power structure.
Grassler: Correct. But a small part. You overestimate the authority of a deputy of twenty-eight then.
Lanzmann: You were thirty.
Grassler: Twenty-eight.
Lanzmann: At thirty you were mature.
Grassler: Yes, but for a lawyer who got his degree at twenty-seven, it was just a beginning.
Lanzmann: You had a doctorate.
Grassler: The title proves nothing.
Lanzmann: Did Auerswald [Nazi commissioner of the Warsaw ghetto] have one too?
Grassler: No. But the title's irrelevant.
Lanzmann: Doctor of Law…What did you do after the war?
Grassler: I was with a mountaineering publishing house. I wrote and published mountain guide books. I published a mountain climbers' magazine.
Lanzmann: Is climbing your main interest? (p.193)
Grassler: Yes.
Lanzmann: The mountains, the air…
Grassler: Yes.
Lanzmann: The sun, the pure air…
Grassler (with a big grin as if he knows what Lanzmann's getting at): Not like the ghetto air. (p.194)

Schindler's List [57]

Segment 1. Deportation of the Jews – Oskar Schindler rescues his accountant, Itzhak Stern, from a deportation train.

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[57] The formatting of the script for *Schindler's List* is as it appears from the original website. (www.imsdb.com/scripts/schindler's lists) (international movie script data base)

EXT. PROKOCIM DEPOT – CRACOW – LATER – NIGHT

From the locomotive, looking back, the string of splattered livestock carriages stretches into darkness. There's a lot of activity on the platform.
Guards mill around. Handcarts piled with luggage trundle by.
People hand up children to others already in the cars and climb aboard after them. The clerks are out in full force with their lists and clipboards, reminding the travellers to label their suitcases.
Climbing from his Mercedes, Schindler stares. He's heard of
this, but actually seeing the juxtaposition – human and cattle cars – this is something else.
Recovering, he tells Klonowska to stay in the car and, moving along the side of the train, calls Stern's name to the faces peering out from behind the slats and barbed wire.

(An enormous list of names – several pages-worth on a clipboard; a Gestapo clerk methodically leafing through them.)

Schindler: He's essential. Without him, everything comes to a grinding halt. If that happens…
Clerk: Itzhak Stern? (Schindler nods) He's on the list.
Schindler: He is.

(The clerk shows him the list, points out the name to him.)

Schindler: Well, let's find him.
Clerk: He's on the list. If he were an essential worker, he would not be on the list. He's on the list. You can't have him.
Schindler: I'm talking to a clerk.

(Schindler pulls out a small notepad and drops his voice to a hard murmur, the growl of a reasonable man who isn't ready – yet – to bring out his heavy guns.)

Schindler: What's your name?
Clerk: Sir, the list is correct.
Schindler: I didn't ask you about the list, I asked you your name.
Clerk: Klaus Tauber.

(As Schindler writes it down, the clerk has second thoughts and calls to a superior, an SS sergeant, who comes over.)

Clerk: The gentleman thinks a mistake's been made.
Schindler: My plant manager is somewhere on this train. If it leaves with him on it, it'll disrupt production and the Armaments Board will want to know why.

(The sergeant takes a good hard look at the clothes, at the pin, at the man wearing them)

Sergeant (to the clerk): Is he on the list?

Clerk: Yes, sir.
Sergeant (to Schindler): The list is correct, sir. There's nothing I can do.
Schindler: May as well get your name while you're here.
Sergeant: My name? My name is Kunder. Sergeant Kunder. What's yours?
Schindler: Schindler.

(The sergeant takes out a pad. Now all three of them have lists. He jots down Schindler's name. Schindler jots down his and flips the pad closed.)

Schindler: Sergeant, Mr. Tauber, thank you very much. I think I can guarantee you you'll both be in Southern Russia before the end of the month. Good evening.

(He walks away, back toward his car. The clerk and sergeant smile. But slowly, slowly, the smiles sour at the possibility that this man calmly walking away from them could somehow arrange such a fate...)

All three of them – Schindler, the clerk and the sergeant – stride along the side of the cars. Two of them are calling out loudly

Clerk and Sergeant: Stern! Itzhak Stern!

(Soon it seems as if everybody except Schindler is yelling out the name. As they reach the last few cars, the accountant's face appears through the slats.)

Schindler: There he is.
Sergeant: Open it.

(Guards yank at a lever, slide the gate open. Stern climbs down. The clerk draws a line through his name on the list and hands the clipboard to Schindler.)

Clerk: Initial it, please. (Schindler initials the change) And this...

(As Schindler signs three or four forms, the guards slide the carriage gate closed. Those left inside seem grateful for the extra space.)

Clerk: It makes no difference to us, you understand – this one, that one. It's the inconvenience to the list. It's the paperwork.

(Schindler returns the clipboard. The sergeant motions to another who motions to the engineer. As the train pulls out, Stern tries to keep up with Schindler who's striding away.)

Stern: I somehow left my work card at home. I tried to tell them it was a mistake, but they…

(Schindler silences him with a look. He's livid. Stern glances down at the ground.)

Stern: I'm sorry. It was stupid (contrite). Thank you.

(Schindler turns away and heads for the car. Stern hurries after him. They pass an area where all the luggage, carefully tagged, has been left – the image becoming black and white.)

Segment 2. Women in Auschwitz: Schindler's female workers have been mistakenly deported to Auschwitz

Scene 1: Women on the deportation train

EXT. CROSSING – POLAND – DAY

The train idles at a crossing in the middle of nowhere. Moving across the faces peering out from between the slats, it becomes apparent there are only male prisoners aboard. Below, on a dirt road, a lone Polish boy stands watching. Just before an empty train roars past from the other direction obscuring him, his hand comes up and across his neck making the gesture of a throat being slit.

Scene 2: Auschwitz
- The train, loaded with the women and children, stops at Auschwitz concentration camp

A train backs slowly along the tracks toward an arched gatehouse. The women inside the cattle cars don't need a sign to tell them where they are, they've seen this place in nightmares. Pillars of dark smoke rise from the stacks into the sky. It's Auschwitz.

EXT. AUSCHWITZ – DAY

The stunned women climb down from the railcars onto an immense concourse bisecting the already infamous camp. As they're marched across the muddy yard by guards carrying truncheons, Mila Pfefferberg stares at the place. It's so big, like a city, only one in which the inhabitants reside strictly temporarily. A woman, to Mila, under her breath

Where are the clerks?

So often terrified by the sight of a clerk with clipboard, it is the absence of clerks which unsettles the woman now, as though there remains no further reason to record their names. Mila's eyes return to the constant smoke rising beyond the birch trees at the settlement's western end.

Scene 3: Deported women get through near-death experience

- Women are herded into the so-called 'disinfection area', where their hair is shaved.
- They are told to get undressed before entering a huge room with pipes on the ceiling.
- They are showered by water instead of by gas in the dark room.

Scene 4: Schindler rescues women and children
- Schindler intervenes when children are separated from their mother.

EXT. TRAIN YARD – AUSCHWITZ – DAY

Schindler, standing at the end of the platform stone-faced, watches the women whose names has 'stuck on', whose clothes are splashed with red paint, climbing onto the cattle cars. As the cars fill, a train on another track arrives. It contains the 'fresh' ones Schindler turned down. As the gates are closed on the women's cars, the gates of the others are opened and the people spill out.
A horrified cry suddenly breaks through the noise of the engines. One of Schindler's women, locked in, has seen her son among those coming down off the train on the opposing track.
Another cry erupts, and another, another, as the women spot their children, confiscated from the Brinnlitz factory, brought here.
Schindler becomes aware of what's happening and, passing over other children, tries to corral these particular boys, many of whom have noticed their mothers now and are echoing their tortured cries with their own.
Schindler manages to gather them together, the fifteen or twenty boys, and, in the middle of the crowded platform, appears to a guard:

Schindler: These are mine. They're on the list. These are my workers. They should be on the train.

(He points across to the women's train, then down to the boys.)

Schindler: They're skilled munitions workers. They're essential.

(The guard glances from the frantic gentleman to the anxious crowd around him. These are essential workers?)

Guard: They're boys.
Schindler: Yes.

(Schindler is nodding his head, trying to think. The women are shrieking their sons' names. The guard, who has heard it all, every excuse imaginable, is just turning away when Schindler thrusts his smallest finger at him.)

Schindler: Their fingers. They polish the insides of shell casings. How else do you expect me to polish the inside of a 45 millimeter shell casing?

(The guard stares at him dumbly. This he hasn't heard before.)

Scene 5: Re-union of the families – Schindler arrives at Brinnlitz camp with women and children

EXT. BRINNLITZ CAMP – DAY

Like a mirage in the distance they appear – the women, the children, guards, Schindler, marching across a field toward the factory.
At the perimeter of the camp, at the wire, the men watch the approaching procession. It appears to them that the women are covered in blood, or could it be paint? They're walking, they're fine, some are even smiling.
Liepold isn't smiling. Neither is Schindler; at least not on the outside.

Segment 3. The liquidation of the ghetto

Scene 1: Amon Goeth's speech

EXT. PARK, CRACOW – DAWN

(Untersturmfuhrer Goeth, soon to be Commandant Goeth, stands before the assembled troops with a flask of cognac in his hand. He looks out over them proudly; they're good boys, these, the best. He addresses them).

Goeth: Today is history. The young will ask with wonder about this day. Today is history and you are part of it.

EXT. PEACE SQUARE, GHETTO –DAWN

(A fourteen year old kid hurries across to the square pulling on his O.D. armband. Several others of the Jewish Ghetto Police, Golberg among them, are already assembled there. The clerks, the list makers, scissor open their folding tables, set out their ink pads and stamps.)

Goeth (voice-over): When, elsewhere, they were footing the blame for the Black Death, Kazimierz the Great, so called, told the Jews they could come to Cracow. They came.

EXT. STABLES – DAWN
(Ingrid climbs onto one of the horses, Schindler onto the other. As the animals gallop away with their riders toward a wood, the stable boys wave.)

Goeth (voice-over): They trundled their belongings into this city, they settled, they took hold, they prospered.

EXT. PARK, CRACOW –DAWN
(The fresh young faces of the Sonderkommandos, listening to their commander.)

Goeth: For six centuries, there has been a Jewish Cracow.

EXT. WOODS – DAWN
(The horses panting hard. Their hoofs hammering at the ground, climbing a hill. Riding boots kicking at their flanks.)

EXT. PARK, CRACOW –DAWN
(The boots of Amon Goeth slowly pacing. He stops. Tight on his face, smiling pleasantly.)

Goeth: By this weekend, those six centuries, they're a rumor. They never happened. Today is history.

EXT. HILLTOP CLEARING – DAWN
The galloping horses break through to a clearing high on a hill. The riders pull in the reins and the hoofs rip at the earth.
Schindler smiles at the view, the beauty of it with the sun just coming up. From here, all of Cracow can be seen in striking relief, like a model of a town. He can see the Vistula, the river that separates the ghetto from Kazimierz; Wawel Castle, from where the National Socialist Party's Hans Frank rules the Government General of Poland; beyond it, the center of town. He begins to notice refinements: the walls that define the ghetto; Peace Square, the assembly of men and boys. He notices a line of trucks rolling east across the Kosciuscko Bridge, and another across the bridge at Podgorze, a third along Zablocie Street, all angling in on the ghetto like spokes to a hub.

Scene 2: The evacuation of the ghetto – a round up of a whole apartment building, the execution of the weak

EXT. GHETTO – DAY
(The wheels of the last truck clear the portals at Lwowska Street and the Sonderkommandos jump down.)

INT. APARTMENT BUILDINGS –DAWN
(Families are herded out of their apartments. An appeal to be allowed to pack is answered with a rifle butt; an unannounced move to a desk drawer is countered with a shot.)

EXT. STREETS, GHETTO –DAWN
(Spilling out of the buildings, they're herded into lines without regard to family considerations; some other unfathomable system is at work here. The wailing protests of a woman waning to join her husband's line are abruptly cut off by a short burst of gunfire.)

(Schindler watches a girl in a red coat wander away during the evacuation of the ghetto)

EXT. HILLTOP – DAWN
From here, the action down below seems staged, unreal; the rifle bursts no louder than caps. Dismounting, Schindler moves closer to the edge of the hill, curious. His attention is drawn to a small distant figure, all in red, at the rear of one of the many columns.

EXT. STREET – DAWN
Small red shoes against a forest of gleaming black boots. A Waffen SS man occasionally corrects the little girl's drift, fraternally it seems, nudging her gently back in line with the barrel of his rifle. A volley of shots echoes from up the street.

EXT. HILLTOP – DAWN

Schindler watches as the girl slowly wanders away unnoticed by the SS. Against the grays of the buildings and street she's like a moving red target.

EXT. STREET – DAWN

A truck thundering down the street obscures her for a moment. Then she's moving past a pile of bodies, old people executed in the street.

EXT. HILLTOP – DAWN

Schindler watches: she's so conspicuous, yet she keeps moving - past crowds, past dogs, past trucks - as though she were invisible.

EXT. STREET – DAWN

Patients in white gowns, and doctors and nurses in white, are herded out of the doors of a convalescent hospital. The small figure in red moves past them. Shots explode behind her.

EXT. HILLTOP – DAWN

Short bursts of light flash throughout the ghetto like stars. Schindler, fixated on the figure in red, loses sight of her as she turns a corner.

Scene 3: A night search for the Jews, who have begun to come out from their hide-outs

- A Nazi officer plays the piano while his men gun down the Jews

Scene 4: A girl in a red coat sneaks into an empty building, and hides herself under the bed.

INT. APARTMENT BUILDING – DAWN

She climbs the stairs. The building is empty. She steps inside an apartment and moves through it. It's been ransacked. As she crawls under the bed, the scene DRAINS of COLOUR. The gunfire outside sounds like firecrackers.

EXT. HILLTOP – NIGHT

NIGHT Silence. Schindler and Ingrid are gone. Below, the ghetto lies like a void within the city, its perimeter and interior clearly distinguishable by darkness. Outside it, the lights of the rest of Cracow glimmer.

Reds[58]

Segment 1 for the pilot study

Scene 1: Old narrators' recollections[59] about John Reed (aka Jack), Louise Bryant and other radicals from 1915 to the 1920s

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[58] This film script was transcribed from a DVD by the researcher

[59] 'The film is woven together by old narrators. These are people in their late eighties and early nineties talking today about the past. Most specifically about the events that take place in the film

Woman1: I've forgotten all about them. Were there socialists? I guess there must've been. But I don't think they were of any importance. I don't remember at all.
Man 1: I know Jack went around with Basel Dodge, and then he went around with another girl, and then he went around with Louise Bryant. I know there were shifts back and forth, but it never impinged on my own personal life. I like baseball.
Woman 2: I don't know what the outside world thought of them. But they were a couple. I mean you always spoke of Louise Bryant and Jack Reed.
Man 2: I recall his telling me that he had two ambitions when he came to college. One was to be elected president of his class. He didn't know anyone in the class. No one knew him. The other was to make a million dollars by the time he was 25.
Man 3: Now, my idea about Jack Reed is probably different from most. But I knew him well. I knew he was a man of strong views. I knew he was independent. And I have an idea. I maybe wrong about this, that his wife was a Communist and that his wife had influenced him, as any wife does, as you know and I know.
Woman 3: Louise Bryant? Well, I thought she was something of an exhibitionist.
Man 4: No. I'm not gonna talk about people. Don't fool yourself. NO. Sir. I'm not…I'm not a purveyor of neighborhood gossip or anything of the kind. That's not my job.
Man 5: He was quiet. He was a nice fellow. I would say, If I met him, I would say he was a nice fellow. He was, however, a fighting fellow in regards to principle.
Man 6: I said, I think, that's a guy who's always interested in the condition of the world and changing it. Either has no problems of his own or refuses to face them. Jack, well, I wouldn't call him a playboy, but some people did.
Man 7: Jack Reed's life, short as it was, happened at a time, and all of us, after all, are the victims of our time and place, when he had the opportunity, as a reporter, to be in some very exciting and dramatic places.

(intercut with the scene in which Jack jumps on the cart in Mexico)

Woman 4: It isn't everybody can be buried in the Kremlin and he's the only American. Born in Portland, Oregon.

Segment 2 for the pilot study (for the main study, Segment 1): Jack and Louise witness the situation of Russia under the Provisional Government

Scene 1: Jack persuades Louise to go to Petrograd with him

Jack persuades Louise to go to Petrograd with him (at communication centre for journalists somewhere in France)
Witness: Imagine 65 million go to war, right? 10 million die. 10 million become orphans. 20 million become maimed, crippled or wounded. You had a catastrophe in Europe. You had a holocaust in Europe. You had a desire for change. (Jack arrives at the

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between 1915 and 1920 and about the characters in the film which include John Reed, Louise Bryant, Eugene O'Neill, Emma Goldman and others. These old faces will give us historical information and help to convey the passage of time. Their voices act as a sort of score for this film, coming up unexpectedly on the track and fading out' (W. Beatty and Trevor Griffiths, *Reds: Screenplay*).

centre, looking for Louise) Who can stop them when there was such a revolutionary sentiment? Huh? Who could stop them?

(shelling can be heard in the distance)

Louise (talking to someone at a centre): You know, I think I'm gonna have to get a new typewriter…
Louise (noticing Jack): What are you…
Jack: What?
Louise: You look fine. Are you all right?
Jack: Oh, God, yes. Nobody needs two kidneys.
Louise: Sorry, this isn't a very good time. They are moving us to another communication centre. So, I'm not just be able to talk to you right now, Jack.
Jack: Could we just go out here a second?

(Jack and Louise talking outside)

Jack: Look, I'm on my way to Russia.
Louise: Oh, really? Have you enlisted?
Jack: Very funny. I know you're doing work here that's good. 'Cause I read the ambulance piece and I thought that was good.
Louise: Thank you.
Jack: And I know you're working on your book. And I know how important that's to you. But, you got to have enough sense. If you're trying to build up your reputation as a journalist, to be in the right place at the right time.
Louise: I appreciate your advice.
Jack: Well, the place to be now is Russia.
Louise: Thank you. I'll remember that.
Jack: Louise, it's chaos. They can't last. They're in their third provisional government in six months. You know what that means? It means there might be another revolution. The workers are deserting the factories, the army's deserting the battle fronts. The exiles are all coming back. The Jews, the anarchists, the socialists. (Louise pulling out a cigarette) All of them are going back, only this time it might be the real thing. And if they have a real workers' revolution in Russia, they'd have one in Germany, and if they had one in Germany, it could happen all over the world.

Louise: Got a match?
Jack: Louise, that'd be the end of the war.
Louise: You don't have to tell me what's happening in Russia. I read papers.
Jack: Well, come with me. As a colleague, I'm not talking about anything else. Come with me as a colleague. You ought to be in Petrograd.
Louise (lights a cigarette): Oh, yeah? Well, that's what you said about New York.
Jack: I was right about New York.
Louise: No, I have work I'm doing here. And I happen to think it's important. But it's not important as what you could be doing in Russia.
Jack: I wanna work together. As partners.
Louise: I don't want a partner. And if I wanted to go to Russia, I'd go alone. I wouldn't need you to take me.

Jack: Louise. Russia is not the safest place in the world for a woman to be alone. You may be a hell of a journalist. But that doesn't mean…

(a couple of shells in the distance)

Louise' colleague: Louise, we'd better hurry along.
Jack: So, moving you out of here, huh?
Louise: Yes. I've been promised an interview with General Plumer.
Jack: Well, I've got to run along myself.

(Jack and Louise are heading back to the barrack)

Louise: Sorry, I don't have any time.
Jack (putting a train ticket in her hand): No. I don't want to keep you. I just…Look, the seat's already reserved
Louise: You've wasted your money, Jack. I don't want it.
Jack: Change the date. Go by yourself. You can use it whenever you want to. Keep up the good work.

(Jack leaving the centre)

Louise: Jack, Good Luck.
Jack: Yeah, you, too. (noticing a vehicle) Got a taxi waiting.

Scene 2: The train journey to Petrograd (the Russia border)

(a train departing)

(Joe Volsky greets Jack on the train to Petrograd)

[…]

(Louise spots Jack and takes a seat opposite to him)

Louise: Excuse me. Excuse me, now here's the thing. I'd be a goddamned fool not to take you up on this offer. So, here's what I want. I want to sign my own name to my own stories and I want to be responsible for my own time and my own actions. I want to be referred to as Miss Bryant, and not as Mrs. Reed, and I want to keep an account of every cent we spend so that I can pay you back. Now I assume you know that I'm not going to sleep with you, so just don't confuse the issue by bringing it up.
Jack: Fine.
Louise: Good.
Joe (offering some salami): You like a salami?

[…]

(stopping at a station near the Russian border)

(announcement from a speaker)

The Russian border

(Wounded soldiers from the front can be seen through a train window)

(Joe speaks to one boy soldier)

Joe (interpreting what he said): He's already been fighting for three months. Now he's joined the Bolsheviks and he is not going to fight anymore.

Joe: I don't think he's afraid. There are many Bolsheviks in the army. And the Bolsheviks will stop the war.

Joe: He's 14 years old.

(Joe, Louise, Jack watching soldiers fading away through window)

Scene 3: Arriving at Petrograd

Man (one of the old narrators): The Communists obviously wanted peace. Rightly so. Because the country was completely unable to sustain a war. There was treason and there was corruption. There was everything under the sun.

(Jack and Louise arrive at Petrograd station)

Jack (to a man at the station): Alex, what the hell are you doing here?
Alex: You have someone to meet you?
Jack: No.
Alex: Then what luck that I am here!
Alex (turning to Louise): Louise?
Louise: Yes
Alex: Alex Gomberg.
Alex (to Jack): Looking for accommodation?
Jack: No. Just a hotel.
Alex: More good luck. I know of an empty apartment.
Jack: You have transportation?
Alex: No problem. Follow me.

Woman 1: A lot of people had an idea that Utopia was growing up. I could not blame them for being pro-Bolshevik, but I wasn't. The one person who was awfully ignorant about Russia was Beatrice Webb.
Woman 2: Yes, she was.
Woman 1: She did not know a thing.

(Jack and Louise are on their way to their apartment)

Alex: Do not misled by the quiet in the street. Underneath is great tension.

Jack: Alex, how much time has the Kerensky government left?
Alex: Any day now, the Bolsheviks will strike.

(Jack and Louise arrive at their apartment)

[…]

(Jack and Louise walking along the street with Alex)

Jack (passing by a group of citizens listening to an orator): He's calling for an insurrection, isn't he?
Alex: Day and night, day and night. (interpreting what the speaker said) 'Another insurrection will ruin Russia.' 'Another insurrection will save Russia.' 'Without England or France, Russia will be isolated.' 'The Bolsheviks are ruining Russia.'
Louise, lucky for you I am here, Louise.

(A queue on the street witnessed by Jack, Louise and Joe Volsky on the tram)

Joe: This is the line for bread.
Jack: Yes.
Joe: There's another line for boots. And there is still another line for cards on which they'll get the boots in two, three months. Did we have to get rid of Czar to stand in line for bread?

(Jack and Louise return to their apartment)

[…]

Scene 4: Reporting the political situation in Russia

(Jack and Louise meet Russian people and political leaders, and write their articles for newspapers).

(Jack and Louise's voice-over while the street is shown as full of agitators and crowds; their meetings with political leaders).

Louise: In the street the talk is of peace and bread. Neither of which Kerensky has provided.
Jack: Nobody is satisfied with Kerensky. The far right wants a strong man, the far left wants peace. Everyone waits to see what the Bolsheviks will do.

[Corridor of Smolny Institute: Armed Red Guards move bundles of leaflets, placards, ammunition boxes, weapons, food along corridors. Jack and Louise move among them (p.79)].

(Jack and Louise meet Lenin)

Louise: It is not easy to write fairly about the Bolshevik leader. He is absurd, cold, impatient of interruptions.

(Jack and Louise are at home discussing how to write their articles)

[…]

(Louise talks to Zinoviev while walking together)

Louise: Mr. Zinoviev, do you still feel that the timing is wrong for a Bolshevik insurrection?

Louise (voice-over): I interviewed Zinoviev at Smolny. He'd been hiding with Lenin…had another whole decade, less than a day. His style is still that of a man in hiding. We hear Trotsky speaks at Smolny. If Lenin represents thought, Trotsky represents action. He is essentially an agitator.

[Meeting room in Smolny Institute: Above the heads of hundreds of workers', soldiers', and peasants' delegates, we see Trotsky at the podium from a distance […] Sections of the audience are waving fists or papers at Trotsky in outrage, while others jeer them (p.79)].

(Trotsky giving a speech at Smolny)

Jack (voice-over): The meeting hall at Smolny was packed. At one point, someone in the platform asked the comrades not to smoke, and everybody including the smokers took up the cry, 'Don't smoke, comrades!'

(People at the meeting stand up and cheer)

Jack (voice-over): And they went on smoking.
Louise (voice-over): At the point Trotsky said, 'We are trying to avoid insurrection, but if the Kerensky government attack us, we shall answer blow by blow.' The audience broke into wild cheers.

(Jack interviews Lenin)

Jack (voice-over): Lenin is a strange popular leader, a leader purely by virtue of intellect. Colourless, humourless, uncompromising, he seems to have none of Trotsky's force of personality or his gift for phrasemaking, and yet it is Lenin who is the architect.

(Jack and Louise visit the Winter Palace to meet Kerensky).

Jack (voice-over): Kerensky is some socialist, huh?
Louise (voice-over): The Winter Palace of the czar, where Kerensky government holds office, is vast and magnificent…
Jack (voice-over): It is quiet in the Winter Palace. There is no sign here of the strikes and lockouts that convulse Moscow and Odessa. No evidence that transportation is paralysed, that the army is starving and in the big cities, there is no bread.
Louise (voice-over): Kerensky is full of old-world manners and charm, totally unlike Lenin.
Jack: 'Provisional government will last.' Kerensky said during the interview, 'in spite of the Bolsheviks,' He seemed bitter, defensive.

(Jack and Louise are home)

Jack (talking to Louise): 900,000 men deserted since January the first. That's 14% of the Russian army. I…I'm sort of braising the cabbage. 'Cause I think it would be a nice change.

[…]

Louise: Thanks for bringing me here.

Scene 5: Jack's speech at a workers' meeting at a factory building

[As Jack and Louise burst into the factory, hundreds of workers, men and women, are cheering and clapping a speaker. Smoke, sweat, danger. A rough podium and platform dominate the floor. (p.82)]

(crowd roaring)

(Jack and Louise enter the building where a meeting is being held)

(people whistling)

Louise (to one of the crowd): Will they strike?

(A man answers in Russian)

(Jack and Louise try to find someone who can speak English while walking towards the platform)

Jack: Do you speak English?
Louise: Do you speak English?
Jack: Do you speak English?

(crowd roaring)

Jack: Do you speak English?
Louise: Do you speak English?
Jack: Do you speak English?
Louise: Do you speak English?
A young man: Yes.
Louise: Will they strike?
A young man: (speaking in Russian)

A man (to Jack): [Are you from] New York?
Jack: Yes.
A man: You know Broome Street?
Jack: Yes! I know it, but can you tell me what he's saying?
A man: I lived there four years…

Jack: Really? What's he…
Jack: What is he saying? (pointing at the man who is giving a speech at platform) Can you tell me what he's saying?
A man (interpreting what the speaker said): He says don't strike. He says it's not right to leave our Russian soldiers at the front without guns. You are a long way from New York.

(crowd cheering)

A man (interpreting what another speaker said): He says that our Russian soldiers at the front are also on strike, that is why they're leaving the front.

(crowd cheering)

(crowd applauding)

(crowd suddenly looking discouraged)

Jack: What's that?
A man: He said that the workers of England, France and America will be left alone to fight Germany.
Jack: Tell him he doesn't know how many workers in England, France and America are against the war. You lived in New York. Tell him that.
A man: You're right, American.

(He speaks to the chairman on the platform)
A man (turning to Jack): Go ahead, you speak.
A man: Go ahead. Tell them about your American workers.
Jack (startled): No, I can't speak here, I don't have any credentials to speak here. I'm an American…
A man: Credentials? What credentials? Everyone has credentials here. He asks you to speak.

(The chairman gestures Jack to mount on the platform)

(Louise turns and stares at Jack with a look of concern)

A man: Speak. I translate.

[The chairman has introduced Jack who is pulled up onto the platform with the translator at his side. Polite applause. The Russians mainly interested in the oddity of an American speaking to them (p.84)]

Jack: I only want to say that if you strike, the American workers will not feel betrayed.

[The translation begins. He gains attention gradually. We cut back and forth to Louise watching him. (p.84)]

Jack: They're waiting for your example. They are waiting for your leadership. If you refuse to support the capitalist war machine, they will follow your example. And if workers of the world stand together, the war can be stopped.

(More translation, which now continues over everything he says. The assembly is now swelling in its reaction to him. (p.84)]

Jack: They support you and will join you in revolution!

(a great deal of cheering)

Jack (shouting in Russian): Down with the imperialist world war!

(Huge applause)

Jack (in Russian): Workers of the world, unite!

(The workers roar)

Jack (in Russian): Long live revolutionary Russia!

(People enthusiastically receive Jack's speech, shaking hands with him, and embrace him)

(Jack and Louise exchange smiles).

['The Internationale' bursts out spontaneously around the factory. The workers embrace Jack as he steps down. His eyes meet Louise's and hold them. 'The Internationale' will continue over the following sequences].

[Petrograd street: Jack and Louise, in a truck with soldiers, hurl handfuls of pamphlets into the street. Louise watches Jack and he sees her watching him (p.85)].

Segment 3 for the pilot study (for the main study, Segment 2): Jack's disillusionment with the Bolsheviks' rule

Scene 1: Jack watching the Red Army marching past his window

Scene 2: Jack's argument with Emma over the situation in Russia (hotel room in Moscow)

Emma: Jack, I think we have to face it. The dream we had is dying in Russia. If Bolshevism means the peasants taking the land, the workers taking the factories, Russia's one place where there is no Bolshevism.

Jack: You know, I can argue with cops, I can fight with generals. I can't deal with a bureaucrat. You think Zinoviev is nothing worse than a bureaucrat?

Emma: The soviets have no local autonomy. The central state has all the power. All the power is in the hands of a few men and they are destroying the revolution. They are destroying any hope of real Communism in Russia. They are putting people like me in jail. My understanding of revolution is not a continual extermination of political dissenters, and I want no part of it. Every single newspaper's been shut down or taken over by the party. Anyone even vaguely suspected of being a counter-revolutionary can be taken out and shot without a trial. Where does that end? Is any nightmare justifiable in the name of defence against counter-revolution? The dream may be dying in Russia, but I'm not. It may take some time. I'm getting out.

Jack: You sound like you're a little confused by the revolution in action, E.G. Up to now, you've only deal with it in theory. What do you think that things was gonna be? A revolution by consensus where we all sat down and agreed over a cup of coffee?

Emma: Nothing works! Four million people died last year. Not from fighting a war. They died from starvation and typhus in a militaristic police state that suppresses freedom and human rights where nothing works.

Jack: They died because of a French, British and American blockade that cut off all food and medical supplies and because counter-revolutionaries have sabotaged the factories and the railroads and the telephones, and because the people, the poor, ignorant, superstitious, illiterate people, are trying to run things themselves, just as you always said that they should, but they don't know how to run them yet. Do you really think things would work right away? Did you really expect social transformation to be anything other than a murderous process? It's a war, E.G., and we gotta fight it like we fight a war, with discipline, with terror, with firing squads, or we just give it up.

Emma: Those four million people didn't die fighting a war. They died from a system that cannot work!

Jack (avoiding Emma's stare): It's just beginning, E.G. It's not happening the way we thought it would. It's not happening the way we wanted it to, but it's happening. (Facing Emma again) If you walk out on it now, what's your whole life meant?

October [60]

Segment 1 for the pilot study: The February Revolution

Scene 1: Toppling of the statue of Alexander III

- mobs rushing into the square
- tightening a rope around the statue
- The peasants', workers', and soldiers' rising
- the statue falls

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[60] This film scrip is an extract from *Classic Film Scripts, Eisenstein Two Films: October and Alexander Nevsky*, J. Leyda (ed.), London: Lorrimer Publishing, 1984. The words in larger font are as they appear from the original text.

Scene 2: Fraternisation – an expectation of ending the war

- abandoned rifles
- exchanging a fur hat for a helmet
  'Brother!'
  'an iron helmet for Ivan's head, a fur hat for Hans' head.'

Scene 3: The Provisional Government's decision to carry on the war

'The Provisional Government will respect its obligations towards our allies in their entreaty.'

Segment 2 for the pilot study (Segment 1 for the main study): The fortnight of the October Revolution

Scene 1: Soldiers at the front

- soldiers running along a trench
- a close-up of a soldier who has closed his eyes firmly as if he cannot bear seeing what is happening around him.

Scene 2: Deterioration of people's life

- a long queue for ration
  'One pound of bread'
  'One half pound'
- a close-up of people's bare feet in the queue
  'One quarter of a pound'
  'One eighth of a pound'
- people collapsing, exhausted by cold and hunger
  'The same old story'
  'Hunger and war'
  'But…April 3rd'

Scene 3: Lenin's arrival at the Finland Station

- a crowd waiting for Lenin at the station
- a close-up of people's brightened faces
  'It's him!'
  'Ulianov!'
  'Lenin!'
- Lenin gives a speech:
  'Long live the Revolutionary solders and workers who have overthrown the Monarch!'
  'No support for the Provisional Government!'
  'Long live the Socialist Revolution!'
  'Socialist… not Bourgeois. Five months of Bourgeois government…'
  'No Peace
  No Bread

No Land'

Segment 3 for the pilot study (for the main study, Segment 2): The Bolsheviks seize power

Scene 1: Preparations for overthrowing the Provisional Government

- a crowd at the meeting [the Soviet 2nd congress]
- a close-up of a soldier from the front
  'Comrade!'
  'All those in the front are with the Bolsheviks!'
- a cut of boots of marching soldiers

Scene 2: Storming the Winter Palace

A gathering in the square

- a close-up of a dying soldier
- a bird's eye view of the mob
- A soldier climbs up the gate
  'Forward!'
- a shot of the defending officers who look overwhelmed by the sheer scale of the Red Guard
- the Empress's bedroom

Scene 3 (for the pilot study only): The declaration of the Proletarian Socialist state

- smashing the wine bottles (to stop looting)
  'Let's get Kerensky!'
- arresting the ministers of the Provisional Government
  'Gentlemen! Let's meet them in the most dignified manner.'
  'You're all under arrest'
  'On behalf of the Revolutionary Committee, I declare the Provisional Government defunct.'
- showing the clocks in different cities such as Petrograd, Moscow, New York…
  'October 25th'
- Lenin mounts the platform
  'Comrades! The workers' and peasants' revolution, which the Bolsheviks have always deemed necessary, has been won!'
- Again, the date, 25 October [7 November] appears, followed by 'Decree on Peace, Decree on Land'
  'We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia'
  - V. Ulianov (Lenin)

Appendix H.

Students' ideas about temporal progress

Overall, students in the Holocaust group often crossed the thin line between historical and practical approaches to the past (see the summary of Chapter 9). It will be insightful to illustrate the way these students locate themselves in time: to use Rüsen's (2002: 1) phrase, 'this procedure welds experiences of the past and expectations of the future into the comprehensive image of temporal progression.'

Responding to the question of the uniqueness of the Holocaust[61], as is the case with other responses in the Holocaust set, Jin-Wook paid attention to the recurrence of human atrocity, though with a reservation that the form of violence would evolve within irreversible linear time:

> Well, there might be some change according to the period. Let me explain to you. At that time, for Nazi Germany, killing was the most effective means to express their hatred. But, perhaps, in the future, it wouldn't be the case. Maybe, in the nearest future, you don't need to be a mass-murderer like the Nazis, in order to show your hatred. For example, we're living in an information-rich society, in which a huge amount of information is available on the internet. If some people are relatively excluded from access to the internet, it's also a form of discrimination against a certain group of people. To cut it short, **the presence of discrimination would be persistent, though with different means to implement the idea** (Jin-Wook, H-U2-1, M.16).

Like Jin-Wook, Young-Bin and Seong-Mi also noted that some events could be seen 'as instances in a series of cyclically repeating occurrences' (Seixas, 2004: 7).

> Looking back, it all started with an idea, like, Hitler's anti-Semitic idea. At that time, it was so appealing that German people became supporters of the belief. If

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[61] Students in the Holocaust group were asked to comment on Source H-3 shown below:

For a historian who is trying to comprehend the mass destruction of the Jews, the main difficulty lies in the absolute uniqueness of this terrible event. [...] I believe that even in a thousand years people will hardly be able to understand Hitler, Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka any better than our generation. [...] Perhaps everything will be even more difficult to understand for the coming generations than for us [...] The fact that even now as a historian, I am not in a position to write objectively about the Jewish catastrophe – of that I am sure – is not the problem of my own bewilderment. It is rather a result of the fact that this is a question of a monstrous, disastrous and terrible degeneration of the human character, which will forever remain a mystery to the human race and will forever continue to cause it fear and anxiety.
- I. Deutscher, (1968) 'The Jewish Tragedy and the Historian', in T. Deutscher (ed.), *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays*, London: Oxford University Press, quoted in Schreier, H and Heyl, M. (eds.), *Never again! The Holocaust's Challenge for Educators*, Hamburg: Kramer, 1997, pp.64-87.

someone like Hitler becomes a leader of a state again, the same kind of thing could happen again, I guess. [...] **Even now, certain groups of people are carrying out frightening things like a terror in the same way the Nazis did a horrible thing at that time**. After the Second World War ended, people did their best, like, remembering what happened, in an attempt to prevent the same thing from happening again. But, you see, similar violence is everywhere (Young-Bin, H-L3-1, M.14).

> **There are plenty of examples of hatred between people, let alone racial prejudice**. You know, what do you think the U.S. is doing in Iraq? Maybe, it's less to do with the race thing. I would call it self-interest, an act of greediness [...] Well, this event [Holocaust] is already past, long gone. You know, [the U.S. president] Bush hasn't experienced the horror. Even though he knows what happened in the past, it didn't affect him at all. That's why he is raising the war against Iraq. What's the use of learning a lesson from history, after all? (Seong-Mi, H-U2-10, F.16).

As is often the case when comparing any totalitarian regime with the USSR under Stalin's rule, Young-Bin viewed atrocities of war and genocide in the late 20th century as a continuous rendition of the Holocaust. In a similar fashion, Seong-Mi drew parallels about the mind-set which can lead to genocide. Of course, it is fair to say that historical thinking inevitably engages with the interplay between similarity and difference across time. However, given the tendency to gloss over the context of a particular event, more attention needs to be paid to the way in which a historical analogy is appropriated, focusing on the historicity of events; as Tosh (2005: 10) stresses, 'the underlying principle of all historical work is that the subject of our enquiry must not be wrenched from its setting.'

To be sure, what is at stake here is what underlies students' ideas about change in history. In this respect, it is interesting to note how the students' view on change is intertwined with their ideas about the continuity or discontinuity of the human condition.

> In my view, looking back at our history, the ideology has been changed, going hand in hand with the development of science. I mean, people are making up their minds, judging what is wrong. For example, in terms of the legal system, racial discrimination has disappeared since people acknowledged colored people are also human beings. In that respect, it is possible to say that the world has been changed. But, deep down, some people might be still racists. On the surface, racism might be defeated. But, considering each individual's conscience or ethical decision, it is hard to say that the world became a better place to live. I mean, **it is true there have been several shifts in terms of social thought, like ideology. The thing is those shifts don't necessarily mean that an individual has been changed** (Yong-Hoon, H-U1-1, M.16).

> **It's not history which has been changed. Rather, it is technology, or people's ideas that have been changed**. You know, as technology developed, new civilisations came into being. Meanwhile, new ideas are also put forward. Once a new ideology began to operate, there would have been a conflict between pro and con, often ending up with war, like that. [...] **history has been**

evolving with a long cycle (Jeong-Tae, H-U1-2, M.16).

As Barton and Levstik (2004: 169) point out, the salient feature of the master narrative which U.S. students employ tends to centre on the notion of progress, particularly the improvement of technology. Amongst students in this study, it is also a commonly held view that technological development is a major (if not the sole) force that moves history forward. In the case of Yong-Hoon and Jeong-Tae, it is a dialectical interaction between technological and institutional change that unfolds in history across time. For Yong-Hoon, compared to the development of material conditions, human consciousness is relatively static (if not fixed), thus hampering progress in history in a fundamental way. For Jeong-Tae, at the centre of change in history lies the introduction and maturation of technology and ideology, which would turn a culmination of their development into the end point of each phase. Significantly enough, this kind of approach to the notion of change in history does not seem to be confined to South Korean adolescents' historical understanding. As Lee (2004: 6) notes, some U.K. students suggest that a 'steady point' in history has been reached, though with the reservation that technology may destabilise the 'steadiness'. Arguably, in a rather self-centered way, these views can be partly attributed to the fact that adolescents have a tendency to perceive the present as the most refined form of human society.

However, what is at work here is not a monolithic view of process in history; that is, while students in this study were inclined to explain progress on the basis of their understanding of human nature, they began to show an awareness of an interplay between social systems (or rather, the objective structure of relations) and practice (or rather, individual thought and activity). Furthermore, one of the factors which influences these students' views on progress can be attributed to their stance toward social injustice:

> **[Inexplicit discrimination exists] not only in the U.S. Remember what has been happening to foreign labourers in [South] Korea?** [...] People tend to give them a strange look, even a despising look [...] Because they are poorer than us (Eun-Jin, H-L2-7, F.13).

> What we watched in the film shows the most violent crime the human race could have ever committed. It is not going to happen again because **there is more awareness of matters of human rights**. If anyone attempts to do that, he or she will face a fierce objection from every sector of society. [...] There is no more tolerance toward tyranny or the monopoly of power. On the other hand, **we are living in a dangerous age, in which conflicts between different parts of the world could bring to an end to human history** (Young-Mi, H-U1-5, F.15).

> [...] **the human past is all about change, which is not quite straightforward**. We don't always learn something from history, like, the 'bad' past. Worse still, we seldom notice the moment when 'right' history was surpassed by 'wrong' history. [...] Don't get me wrong. I'm not that pessimistic. **The hidden or distorted past is bound to be under scrutiny in the end**. That's how 'banned' or 'censored' history, like, part of recent Korean history became available to the public (Min-Soo, H-L2-4, M.13).

DAMAGED TEXT IN ORIGINAL

The responses above were drawn from different categories of students' ideas about perspective: from the fixed past (in Eun-Jin's case) through inherited perspective (in Young-Mi's case) to perspective as a cognitive tool (in Min-Soo's case). These students drew on everyday experience as a tool for understanding the story of progress in history. For both Eun-Jin and Young-Mi, a quest for human rights lies at the heart of progress in history, though with the difference that Young-Mi is more capable of grounding her optimistic (but at the same time pessimistic) view of the world, employing a more historical perspective rather than adopting a 'social criticism approach'[62]. In Min-Soo's case, a positive value is placed on the change since the revision of historical study 'ought to' give rise to doing justice to historiography.

On the other hand, while showing a concern about a seemingly infinite progress in 'inhumane' technology, students in this study appear to bestow moral content on the trajectory of human history.

> Sometimes it **[history] moves backwards**. You know, there has been discrimination against black people in America. In the past, black children couldn't attend the same school as white children did. **Nowadays, discrimination isn't that explicit. But it still exists in a more vicious way**, like, social stereotyping and low expectations tend to let black youngsters down (Seon-Joo, H-L2-8, F.13).

> In a way, having a few bastards like Hitler in history could be a good thing. Once two or three Hitlers did something terrible like the Holocaust, people could realise how bad it is to pursue self-interest in a crazy way. As a result, **history could get back to normal for a while until they forget it. That way, history comes full circle**, I reckon (Hye-Joo, H-U1-4, F.15).

> To me, the continuous development of technology matters. In these days it is possible to blow out one whole country through bombing. **It may not take long to witness the end of human history**. The earth could disappear in the nearest future. I mean, we have already reached that stage. **If technology proceeds to develop further, it will be hard to control the abuse of scientific knowledge** (Song-Hee, H-U1-3, F.15).

The responses above illustrate students' pictures of the course of [redacted] history: from regression (in Seon-Joo's case) through repetition (in Hye-Joo's case) to [redacted] in Song-Hee's case). Perhaps there is a sign of an attempt to comprehend the [redacted] history: what is lacking here is 'a sense of themes relating to one another, or [redacted] directions of change in different themes' (Lee, 2004: 6). In fact, it can be argued [redacted] material used in this study, such as film clips about the Holocaust and a supplemen[redacted] source on the apocalyptic nature of the event (see p.413), might have influenced their ideas about the course of history; that is, that the Holocaust represents a final phase in history, a kind of historical exhaustion. However, it is also fair to say that students consider the historical continuum as intelligible: their responses reflect their assumption that, in Lee's

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[62] See note 46 on pp.297-8.

(2004: 7) phrase, 'understanding trends and time-extended, backward-referenced features of human behaviour (for example plans and policies) is crucial to making decisions in the present.' For instance, Young-Mi comments on Source H-3; 'Maybe, the same tragedy repeats itself in history, but at least not on the same scale. Imagine if a similar thing to the Holocaust is about to happen. Many organisations for human right wouldn't let it happen.'